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QUICK TRANSIT BETWEEN NEW YORK AND LONDON.

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THE introduction of some means of rapid transit between the two great English-speaking nations, wholly free from the inconveniences, delays and hazards due to tides, fogs and storms encountered in narrow and crowded water-ways and along dangerous coasts, is of the utmost importance to all transatlantic travellers, who look upon the voyage as a necessary means to an end. The universal demand is for the shortest possible sea passage for travellers and the quickest delivery of the mails between the two great distributing cities, London and New York.

The question, in projecting the best transatlantic steamship line, is how to secure a route which shall combine the merits of shortness and directness with the greatest safety and comfort to the traveller. In solving this question, ports having a particularly advantageous geographical location for embarkation and debarkation, and from which vessels can at once attain full speed, must be selected, and ships must be run which will have the maximum of speed, coupled with all the modern conveniences for security and comfort.

As the western terminus for a new transatlantic route, it is

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proposed to select Fort Pond Bay, which is one of the finest natural harbors in the world. It is located on the north side of Long Island, six miles west of Montauk Point, and 114 miles from New York City. As shown by the latest government charts, it is of such great and uniform depth that the largest steamers can enter or depart from it day or night throughout the year, without danger of detention. To enter this harbor, all large steamers would depart from the usual route between Great Britain or Europe and New York, at a point a little south of Nantucket Shoals, and would proceed in a straight course through unobstructed waters to the entrance of Block Island Sound, west of Block Island. This entrance has a width of five miles, between Phelps Ledge and a small shoal located a little to the westward of Southwest Ledge, its minimum depth being seven fathoms. From this point the course would be through Block Island Sound, passing between Shagwong Reef and Cerberus Shoal, which are four miles apart, and between which the minimum depth of water is eight fathoms. Thence the course is direct, through absolutely unobstructed waters, into Fort Pond Bay, whose entrance is three-quarters of a mile wide, and where the tides never exceed three feet five inches. In selecting this harbor for the western terminus of a new transatlantic route, the entire southern shore of Long Island and the eastern coast of New Jersey are avoided; the risk from collision on the much-frequented North River and New York Bay is escaped, and the long delay at Sandy Hook and the slow passage through the twenty-five miles of tortuous and crowded channels from Sandy Hook Lightship to the New York piers are done away with.

Having chosen Fort Pond Bay as the western terminus of the proposed route, the selection of a British port of arrival and departure becomes the chief matter requiring consideration. Of the competing ports of Liverpool, Southampton and Milford, the last is the most accessible at all times, and possesses in the highest degree all the advantages necessary for a port of arrival and departure. To reach this port, vessels taking the usual course to Queenstown and Liverpool, after sighting Fastnet Light, off Cape Clear, on the southern coast of Ireland, would bear directly eastward to the most westerly port of Wales which is Milford Haven, and thus avoid the disagreeable and dangerous trip through a channel full of shipping at all hours of the day and night.

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This harbor, which has an entrance more than a mile and a half wide, with a minimum depth sufficient for the largest steamers, is entirely land-locked, and no seas of any consequence to large vessels can rise in it. The tides in the Haven are very slight, running not more than one and one-half knots per hour, while in the Solent they run as high as four and one-half knots. Fog is much less prevalent in the approach to Milford than around the Scilly Islands, which must be passed in approaching Southampton. Observations taken at the Milford Docks during the past four years show that during that time there have been but forty-four days on which fog existed in the Haven, and then only for a few hours. According to the statistics of the Meteorological Society the number of fogs prevailing at and around the Scilly Islands is nearly double the number found on the south coast of Ireland, the approach to Milford Haven.

This prevalence of fogs increases the necessary reduction of speed in approaching the coast at the entrance to the Solent, and makes navigation to Southampton much more dangerous. This can be fully understood when it is remembered that all vessels must pass the Needles, and run up the narrow channels between the sandbanks of Southampton Water before they can reach their destination. The Mersey channel is not less exposed to these dangers, as it is always more or less filled with shipping. But Milford Haven has free and uninterrupted access to and from the sea, and is a harbor into which the largest vessel afloat, or which is contemplated, can steam at any hour of day or night. It has a depth of thirty-four feet at the pier where vessels would land for discharging mails and passengers. At the end of this pier is the Great Western Railway Station, which could be entered without stepping from under cover, and from which special trains could be run to London in less than five hours.

How essential it is that steamers should be able to go up to their piers, at all times, regardless of tides, is shown by the great efforts and enormous expenditures made by Liverpool and Southampton to secure such piers. Their efforts have met with practical success, so that it is now possible for both the Liverpool and Southampton lines to boast of terminal facilities which enable them to advertise a fixed hour of departure.

What, then, are the other advantages to be gained, which should induce the American people to insist upon the adoption of

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a new route, with Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven as the termini? To answer this question, it is necessary to compare carefully the proposed route with those already in existence. There are two main routes between New York and London. The first is by the way of Queenstown and Liverpool and thence by rail to London; the second is by way of Southampton and rail to London. The first route may be subdivided into (*a*) the passenger route by which the traveller, after being compelled to wait at Queenstown while the mail is transferred, is then carried on to Liverpool, and thence by rail to London, and (*b*) the Overland Mail Route by vessel to Queenstown and thence by rail to Kingstown or Dublin, again by vessel to Holyhead, and then by the London and North Western Railway to Euston Station, London. The mail route by Queenstown entails considerable extra expense on the passenger, as well as the great inconvenience of repeated changes, and is consequently very little used by travellers, except under special circumstances.

For the purpose of determining the relative merits of the routes already established, and comparing their *intrinsic value* with the *true worth* of the route proposed between New York and London by way of Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven, it is necessary to adopt some absolute standard of speed for both the steamers and railway trains, and ascertain the exact difference in the lengths of the several sea routes, as well as the railway journeys from the ports of debarkation to London and New York.

All previous comparisons have been rendered difficult because fixed standards have not been taken, and because eastward and westward passages have been confounded. The proper method is to consider passages in the same direction, and to deal with the same ship in all cases, and having determined its rate of speed, and the length of the different routes, ascertain over which route it could make the passage in the shortest time.

The best record made prior to this date has been assumed as the standard of speed for all calculations. The fastest eastward ocean steaming yet made is certified by the Cunard Company to have been five days eight hours and thirty-eight minutes by the "Lucania." The average run was exactly 21.90 knots per hour. This rate is therefore taken as the standard in all cases. In determining the length of the different routes, it can be fairly assumed, for the purpose of comparison, that all steamers

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plying between the same termini traverse the same distances during corresponding periods of the year, or could easily do so, whether the passage be eastward or westward. If they do not, it is because the master of one ship is willing to increase the sailing distance in order to lessen the dangers of the voyage, or *vice versa*. It is only necessary, therefore, to ascertain what advantage one route has over its rivals in reference to their *expedient courses*. By expedient course is meant the shortest course, between the same termini, which experience has shown should be chosen, consistent with the season and dangers of the voyage, in distinction from the shortest *geographical* route. The principal transatlantic steamship companies have adopted regular expedient routes which are now actually in force, and should be followed by all steamers. These routes practically coincide for the greater part of the distance across the ocean. In determining, therefore, the advantage which one route has over another, the distance for which they coincide may be eliminated, and the routes considered only from the points of divergence to their respective termini.

The passenger and mail routes by way of Queenstown would coincide with the route to Milford Haven until they reached the meridian of Fastnet, at a point ten miles south of the Fastnet Light. From this point the two courses would begin to diverge, but the exact distances in both cases to their respective termini can be easily ascertained, and they are unchangeable, being the same in every season and in all kinds of weather.

The following tables show the distances from *the point of divergence* to the ports of destination, the shortest railway distances, and the total time necessary for carrying the mail from the point of divergence to the London Post-office by the three different routes. These calculations assume that steamers could proceed at the *maximum* speed of twenty-one and nine-tenth knots per hour *from the point of divergence to their piers*, and that trains could be run at the rate of a mile per minute over the whole railway distances.

The detentions in transferring at the several ports are exceedingly variable, depending upon temporary conditions; but, as the purpose of these particular tables is to show the *intrinsic* merit, not the actual gain of the Milford Haven route over the already-established routes, a fixed delay of one hour is assumed. This may be too short, or it may be too long, a time, but it is as just

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a standard for one route as it is for the others. The delay at Queenstown is necessarily longer, as the transfer is there made by means of a tender; the usual time is therefore taken. The transfers at Kingstown and Holyhead, being chiefly transfers of mails, are assumed to take only thirty minutes.

QUEENSTOWN MAIL ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
From Fastnet to Queenstown (Roche's Point Light)	57 knots.	2 h. 36 m.
Detention at Queenstown (two transfers of mail and tender to landing)		2 h. 30 m.
Queenstown to Kingstown by rail	185 miles.	3 h. 05 m.
Transfer at Kingstown		30 m.
Kingstown to Holyhead	56 knots.	2 h. 34 m.
Transfer at Holyhead		30 m.
Holyhead to London	264 miles.	4 h. 24 m.
Euston Station to London post-office		1 h.
Total time from point of divergence to London post-office		17 h. 09 m.

PASSENGER ROUTE TO LIVERPOOL, LEAVING MAIL AT QUEENSTOWN.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
Fastnet to Queenstown (Roche's Point Light)	57 knots.	2 h. 36 m.
Detention at Queenstown (for transferring mails)		1 h. 30 m.
Queenstown to Liverpool	240 knots.	10 h. 57 m.
Detention at Liverpool		1 h.
Liverpool to London	201 miles.	3 h. 21 m.
Station to post-office		1 h.
Total time from point of divergence to London post-office		20 h. 24 m.

MILFORD HAVEN ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
Meridian of Fastnet to Milford Haven	170 knots.	7 h. 46 m.
Detention at Milford		1 h.
Milford Haven to London	273 miles.	4 h. 33 m.
Paddington Station to post-office		1 h.
Total time from point of divergence to London post-office		14 h. 19 m.

In computing the time for the Liverpool passenger route, one hour and thirty minutes is allowed for transferring the mail at Queenstown, as all the fast steamers running between Liverpool and New York are under government contract to stop there for discharging and receiving the mails. If this delay were omitted the time would be reduced to eighteen hours fifty-four minutes.

It is a little more difficult to compare the Southampton route with the Milford Haven route, as the point of divergence of the two courses is much farther to the west, but from this point of divergence both courses are on the arc of a great circle, and vary little, if any, in length to the meridian of Fastnet, so that it is only necessary to consider the distances from that meridian. From the meridian of Fastnet, the distance to Milford Haven is 170 knots, and to Southampton 343 knots.

The following table, compared with the preceding table, giving the time from Fastnet to London Post-office, by way of Milford

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Haven, will give the net gain of the Milford route over the Southampton route.

SOUTHAMPTON ROUTE.

Description of route.	Distances.	Time.
Meridian of Fastnet to Southampton	343 knots.	15 h. 40 m.
Transfer at Southampton		1 h. .....
Southampton to London	79 miles.	1 h. 19 m.
Waterloo Station to post-office		1 h. .....
Total time from meridian of Fastnet to London post-office		18 h. 59 m.

It will thus be seen that steamers using the Milford Haven Harbor would gain four hours and forty minutes over the Southampton route; six hours and five minutes over the Liverpool passenger route, including the delay at Queenstown, and four hours and thirty-five minutes excluding it; and two hours and fifty minutes over the Queenstown mail route.

It is much easier to determine the gain made by using Fort Pond Bay, for, as a rule, all large steamers from Great Britain or Northern Europe, approaching New York Harbor, aim to pass the southern end of Nantucket Shoals in about latitude forty degrees, forty minutes north, and longitude sixty-nine degrees twenty minutes west, from which position the course for Sandy Hook Lightship is west three-eighth degrees north, the distance being 207 knots. Assuming that the whole distance of 207 knots could be run at the maximum speed of twenty-one and nine-tenth knots per hour, it would take *nine hours twenty-seven minutes* to reach Sandy Hook Lightship. From this vessel it is twenty-five knots to the pier of the American Line in New York, and as this distance is through narrow, winding channels and through New York Harbor, it must be run at greatly reduced speed. The average time consumed by steamers from the Sandy Hook Lightship to their respective piers is *three* hours, making the total time from the point of divergence of the two routes to the pier in New York *twelve hours twenty-seven minutes*, to which must be added one hour for transporting mail from the pier to the post-office, making *thirteen hours twenty-seven minutes*. The distance from the *point of divergence* to the foot of Fort Pond Bay is 123 knots, all of which is through open and unobstructed waters, and through all of which, to the entrance of the bay, the maximum speed can be maintained in clear weather.

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FORT POND BAY ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
Point of divergence to Fort Pond Bay	123 knots	5 h. 37 m.
Transfer at Fort Pond Bay	.....	1 h. .....
Fort Pond Bay to New York, by rail	114 miles	1 h. 54 m.
Station to Post-Office	.....	1 h. .....
Total time from point of divergence to New York post-office, by Fort Pond Bay Route		9 h. 31 m.
Total time required from point of divergence to New York post-office, by present route		13 h. 27 m.

This shows an estimated saving in favor of Fort Pond Bay, of *three hours and fifty-six minutes*, based on the assumption that vessels are run at full speed to the Sandy Hook Lightship. The actual gain would always be greater than the estimated. Statistics received from the hydrographic office show that the average time of the ocean greyhounds from the meridian of Montauk to their piers is eight hours. Adding to this five hours and thirty minutes, the time necessary to sail from the point of divergence to the meridian of Montauk, 120 knots, at the maximum speed, and one hour from the pier to the post-office, the total time from the point of divergence to the post-office is fourteen hours and thirty minutes, which shows a saving in favor of Fort Pond Bay of *five hours*. In foggy or stormy weather the gain for the Fort Pond route would be greatly increased, as speed must be materially reduced along the entire coast of Long Island, and especially when approaching the Sandy Hook bar; while by the Fort Pond Bay route, any reduction in speed would mean very little loss of time, as the course over which it would be necessary to reduce speed is short, and the trip from Fort Pond Bay to New York could always be made in uniform time by rail. By this course five hours could be saved and 114 miles of railroad travel—which can be made at the rate of sixty miles per hour, regardless of fogs and storms—would be substituted for 109 knots, or 125½ miles, of dangerous ocean travel.

The total gain thus estimated at both ends for the Fort Pond-Milford Haven route would be: over the Southampton route, eight hours thirty-six minutes; over the Liverpool passenger route, including the Queenstown detention, ten hours and one minute; excluding it, eight hours and thirty-one minutes; and over the Queenstown mail route, six hours forty-six minutes.

Practically the same results may be obtained by taking the distances, as estimated from the Government chart, showing the

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different expedient courses, and using the same standard of speed in all cases, 21.9 knots per hour and a mile per minute by rail, thus ascertain the time required to transport the mail from the New York Post-office to the London Post-office over the various routes.

QUEENSTOWN MAIL ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
From New York post-office to steamship pier	.....	1 h.
From steamship pier to Sandy Hook Lightship	25 knots	3 h.
Sandy Hook to meridian of Fastnet	2,755 knots	5 d. 5 h. 48 m.
Fastnet meridian to Queenstown (Roche's Point Light)	57 knots	2 h. 36 m.
Detention at Queenstown to transfers, mails and tender to landing	.....	2 h. 30 m.
Queenstown to Kingstown by rail	185 miles	3 h. 05 m.
Detention at Kingstown	.....	30 m.
Kingstown to Holyhead	56 knots	2 h. 34 m.
Detention at Holyhead	.....	30 m.
Holyhead to London, Euston Station	264 miles	4 h. 24 m.
Euston Station to post-office	.....	1 h.
New York post-office to London post-office	.....	6 d. 2 h. 57 m.

LIVERPOOL PASSENGER ROUTE LEAVING MAIL AT QUEENSTOWN.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
New York post-office to steamship pier	.....	1 h.
Pier to Sandy Hook Lightship	25 knots	3 h.
Sandy Hook Lightship to meridian of Fastnet	2,755 knots	5 d. 5 h. 48 m.
Fastnet to Queenstown (Roche's Point Light)	57 knots	2 h. 36 m.
Detention at Queenstown for transfer of mails	.....	1 h. 30 m.
Queenstown to Liverpool	249 knots	10 h. 57 m.
Transfer at Liverpool	.....	1 h.
Liverpool to London	201 miles	3 h. 21 m.
Station to post-office	.....	1 h.
New York post-office to London post-office	.....	6 d. 6 h. 12 m.

SOUTHAMPTON ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
New York post-office to steamship pier	.....	1 h.
Pier to Sandy Hook Lightship	25 knots	3 h.
Sandy Hook Lightship to Bishop Rock	2,883 knots	5 d. 11 h. 39 m.
Bishop Rock to Southampton	215 knots	9 h. 49 m.
Detention at Southampton	.....	1 h.
Southampton to London	79 miles	1 h. 19 m.
Station to post-office, Waterloo	.....	1 h.
New York post-office to London post-office	.....	6 d. 4 h. 47 m.

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FORT POND AND MILFORD HAVEN ROUTE.

Description of Route.	Distances.	Time.
Time from New York post-office to Railroad Station, New York	.....	1 h.
Railroad Station, New York, to Fort Pond Bay	114 miles	1 h. 54 m.
Detention at Fort Pond Bay	.....	1 h.
Fort Pond Bay to meridian of Fastnet	2,671 knots	5 d. 1 h. 58 m.
Meridian of Fastnet to Milford Haven	170 knots	7 h. 46 m.
Detention at Milford Haven	.....	1 h.
Milford Haven to London	273 miles	4 h. 33 m.
Paddington Station to post-office	.....	1 h.
New York post-office to London post-office	.....	5 d. 20 h. 11 m.

These calculations, based upon the maximum speed for steamships, and for long railroad distance, *show only the theoretical gain which would be made by adopting the Fort Pond-Milford Haven route, were the conditions such that these standards could be maintained for the whole distance over each route.* They can be maintained, or nearly so, in the case of the proposed new route, which has open deep-water ports, a straight course with entire exemption from bars, and almost absolute freedom from crowded waterways, for at the western terminus, the course is unobstructed and at the eastern terminus, all steamers would cross St. George's Channel in a direct line and would soon be out of the usual course for shipping. In the case of the other routes, which run for long distances along dangerous shores through crowded tortuous channels and over sand bars, the speed must be materially reduced. The assumed standard of speed cannot be maintained on either the Liverpool route after leaving Queenstown, or the Southampton route after reaching the Solent, or from Kingstown to Holyhead, on the mail route, any more than it can be continued over the Sandy Hook bar and through New York harbor. *The real advantage of the Fort Pond-Milford Haven route is, therefore, much greater than the theoretical, and to fully appreciate the gain between New York and London, which the location and merits of this new route render possible, we must compare what would be done, if it were adopted, with what is done by the other routes.*

The time allowed for carrying the mail from Queenstown to the London Post-office in these calculations is undoubtedly much smaller than the actual, and the conditions of the channel are such, that, as in New York harbor, *the actual time can never be*

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reduced to the theoretical. When it was lately decided by the Railway and Steamboat routes, in conjunction with the British Post-office Department, to run express trains both ways between Queenstown and London, so as to save all the time possible, and the arrangements were completed, the attention of the whole country was directed to the experiment, and every effort was made to ensure the quickest possible delivery on the first trip. The result was that everything was in readiness at all points, and the following shows the result of the experiment:

Detention at Queenstown to transfer mails	2 h.	30 m.
Special train, Queenstown to Kingstown Pier	4 h.	34 m.
Detention at Kingstown		11 m.
Packet from Kingstown to Holyhead	3 h.	31 m.
Detention at Holyhead		9 m.
Holyhead to Euston Station	5 h.	31 m.
Euston Station to London post-office	1 h.	
Total	17 h.	26 m.

A careful record of all the steamers carrying mail by the Overland Mail route between May 1 and September 5, 1895, shows that there were thirty-five eastward passages made between New York and Queenstown during that time, and that the average time between the arrival of the steamer at Roche's Point and the delivery of the mail in the London Post-office was twenty-one hours and forty minutes, and that only twice during the whole of that period was the time less than eighteen hours.

It is safe to assume, therefore, that the average time between the arrival at Queenstown and the arrival at the London Post-office is not less than eighteen hours. This time can never be greatly decreased on account of the risks, uncertainties and complications of the route, and after the new long term mail contract, which the Liverpool companies have made with the British government, goes into effect in 1897, it is not likely to be shortened for many years.

In March, 1895, an order was adopted by the House of Commons, requiring a return showing the days, hours and minutes occupied by mail steamers during the year 1894 in the transit of mails between New York and Queenstown, and also between New York and Southampton. This return discloses the following facts. The shortest time made by any ship to Queenstown was five days twelve hours forty-five minutes, to which should be added the usual time consumed in carrying the mails from Queenstown to the London Post-office, 18 hours, making a total of six days six hours forty-five minutes as the steamship and rail-

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way carriage time. One hour must be added to this for carrying the mails from the post-office to the pier in New York, making six days seven hours forty-five minutes as the shortest actual time from the post-office in New York to the post-office in London. It also shows that the average time for eleven trips of the "Lucania" was five days eighteen hours fifty-eight minutes, and adding the time from the New York Post-office to the pier, and from Queenstown to the London Post-office, nineteen hours, the average time was six days thirteen hours fifty-eight minutes.

The best average time for the American Line was made by the "New York," which for fifteen voyages averaged seven days one hour fifty-nine minutes from the New York pier to Southampton. The usual time required for carrying the mail from the Southampton docks to the London Post-office is three hours and twenty-five minutes. This is shown by the records of the forty-three steamers arriving at Southampton from New York between May 8 and September 12, 1895. Adding this time and the one hour necessary for carrying the mail from the New York Post-office to the pier, to the average time of the "New York," the average time from post-office to post-office is found to be seven days six hours and twenty-four minutes.

It is with these latter figures that the time which could be made by a transatlantic line, using Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven should be compared, as the other lines, being well established and having their full complement of ships, cannot afford to discard their older steamers and adopt newer and faster ones. It can be safely assumed, therefore, that for some years to come the figures given in the return to the House of Commons will afford a fair standard for judging of the time which the established lines will take in making the passage from pier to pier. *The new route, therefore, would show the following gain over the best average time, which is now being made over the Queenstown and Southampton lines:*

Average time, Queenstown route, by Steamer "Lucania"	6 d.	13 h.	58 m.
Estimated time, Fort Pond-Milford Haven route, *adopting present schedule railroad time*	5 d.	22 h.	11 m.
Total gain by proposed route		15 h.	47 m.
Average time, Southampton route, by Steamer "New York"	7 d.	6 h.	24 m.
Estimated time, Fort Pond-Milford Haven route, *adopting present schedule railroad time*	5 d.	22 h.	11 m.
Total gain by proposed route	1 d.	8 h.	11 m.

The gain of a very few hours would be of the utmost import-

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ance in the matter of mail service. Granting that all existing mail steamers could make the ocean voyage fast enough to deliver the mails in the same time which the "Lucania" takes, it would rarely be possible to get a reply by the return steamer sailing a week later, except during the summer months. Even then it is by no means certain, and little, if any, opportunity is afforded for inquiries and investigation. Nothing is really gained, therefore, by the present fast steamers of the Cunard Line, for before the second return mail is due to leave, the slow steamers of every line are able to deliver their mails so as to enable a reply to be sent by the same return steamer. *The saving of a few hours would completely change this, and make the exception the rule. Steamers starting from Fort Pond Bay, on receipt of mail which had left New York on Saturday morning, would be able to deliver their mails in London the following Friday evening at the latest, so that a reply could be sent on Saturday's returning steamer, which would reach New York on Thursday night or Friday morning. The return letter would in these cases be nearly across the Atlantic when the reply, under existing conditions, is posted in London. By this route, passengers would be able to be in telegraphic communication with the rest of the world at least fifteen hours longer than by either of the other passenger routes.*

In no way can these immense advantages be secured except by a gain of several hours in the delivery of mails at the London and New York post-offices. This can only be accomplished by increasing the speed of ships—a very expensive method—or by shortening the length of the ocean voyage, and substituting as much railway travel as possible. The saving of time by shortening the distance, calls for the selection of the Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven route. It is universally admitted that passengers will go by the shortest route. This has been shown by the fact that the rivalry of Southampton has already made serious inroads into the Liverpool traffic. The British steamers now cover all the short routes except that from Milford to Fort Pond Bay. This should induce the American people to adopt this route, and thus secure to themselves the shortest possible means of communication between the continents which would control all fast mail and express matter and all passengers to whom quick transit is of importance.

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In discussing the different ocean routes it was stated that the shorter mid-ocean route was usually selected at the cost of increasing the dangers of the voyage. In selecting Milford Haven and Fort Pond Bay, however, the route is not only shortened, but all dangers are reduced to a minimum. The chief dangers Atlantic liners have to encounter, when in the vicinity of the English and Long Island coasts, are collision and stranding. The risk of collision in a run from Fastnet to Milford is certainly much less than in a run from that point to either Liverpool or Southampton, with the further advantage that when nearing the port the risk is reduced to a minimum, whereas in the case of Southampton the risk increases as the port is approached. In the case of Milford, an approaching steamer would, before passing the Smalls, cross the up-and-down traffic of the Irish Channel, and having passed the Smalls, would be out of all that traffic, and the risk of collision would be gone. The Southampton steamer would, besides crossing the Irish Channel traffic, like the other two lines, have the large and dangerous English Channel traffic and the many fishing fleets to avoid through the entire distance to the pier. Liverpool is, of course, in a similar position. In the matter, therefore, of freedom from the risk of collision, the Milford course has a great advantage. As to stranding, it may be assumed that, with the careful navigation exercised on board such vessels as we are considering, a run of 100 miles can be made with great accuracy. The distance from Fastnet to the Smalls is not much over 100 miles, and in the thickest weather a well-navigated steamer would not, at the end of that run, be more than two miles out of her course, probably less. If this be so, the Smalls would be easily picked up, and from these to Milford Haven the way is clear. In fog it would be dangerously reckless to attempt to approach Southampton at anything like the speed at which Milford might be approached; and the same may be said as to Liverpool.

The question of this proposed transatlantic route is not a mere local one between New York and London; but it concerns all Europe and America, including Eastern Asia as well. The British Government is determined, if it lies in its power, to control the transcontinental mail. In May, a deputation waited on Lord Rosebery for the purpose of formally submitting the scheme of constructing a fast Atlantic and Pacific mail service, passing wholly between British ports, in British boats and over British

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rails, the object of the line being to develop and strengthen the commercial connection between the British Colonies and the United Kingdom. The success of such a scheme would require a liberal subsidy from Great Britain, and the generous policy of that government in subsidizing its mail lines is shown by the fact that in recently awarding the Irish mail contract *it raised the annual subsidy to* £100,000 *for a decrease of one-half hour in the time between Kingstown and Holyhead.*

There is only one way to prevent the establishment of a Canadian route which would divert much local and all through mail and traffic to the Dominion, and that is for the United States to promote and secure a through direct route, which will put the mails into New York and all Pacific ports in less time than can be done by any other route. This can be accomplished by the Fort Pond and Milford route. Canada is offering to pledge many times more money to obtain this advantage than would be required from the United States to secure and make certain for all time the intercontinental mail and passenger traffic.

The advantages of Fort Pond Bay and Milford Haven have been stated, but the adoption of the former port does not require the selection of the latter. Fort Pond Bay is open to all steamship lines and the Long Island Railroad, with its bridge over the East River, will be at the service of any steamship company which wishes to save the time at the American end.

While it is true that the present North-Atlantic companies have constructed, at vast expense, the finest and fleetest steamships afloat in any waters, and are maintaining a most magnificent ocean service, it is equally true that they do not make the quick time which might be made over this better route, and unless some one of them shall utilize the manifest advantages of this new American harbor, it is only a question of time when a new line, with at least equally good ships and service, will be established.

The problem of quick transit between New York and London has been stated. Here is what *can* be done at both ends or at either end. It remains for the American people to say what *shall* be done. To the traveller it is a question of convenience, economy, saving of time and lessening of danger; to every American citizen it should be a question of high national importance.

AUSTIN CORBIN.

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THE PLAGUE OF JOCULARITY.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR H. H. BOYESEN.

SOME years ago, at an annual examination in Columbia College, I requested my students to write in German a brief account of their lives. To my astonishment more than half of the class took this request (though it was printed on the examination paper with the regular questions) to be a joke. Of the thirty-two responses which I received, seventeen were in a more or less jocular vein. One youth informed me that, as he had his eyes fixed on the White House, he did not like to handicap his future biographer by pinning him down to any unyielding framework of biographical facts which might prove embarrassing to the manager of his campaign. It was so much more advantageous to leave one's biography in a state of convenient fluidity, until the time came when one could know for what purpose it would be needed. One could always invent a far more serviceable biography than circumstances were apt to provide. Another embryonic president (from Brooklyn) stated that he was strictly a self-made man, having been born in the slums, of poor but honest parents, and, after having practised the honorable profession of a bootblack, had reached his present exalted position by sitting up at night, studying by the light of a two-penny tallow dip, and modelling his conduct on such worthies as Dick Whittington (*minus* the cat), Benjamin Franklin (*minus* the lightning rod), and George Washington (*minus* the veracity). He had never smoked, tasted ardent spirits or used profane language, and he attributed his rise in life to this heroic abstemiousness, in connection with all the other copy-book virtues of which he was so shining an example.

A third young gentleman declared that he had from the cradle been a monument of goodness and stupidity, and related

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several touching incidents of his childhood which parodied with inimitable drollery the good boy of the Sunday-school story. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that, in view of his moral superiority and his intellectual limitations, I would mark his paper one hundred, without reference to its shortcomings, as he was the sole support of a widowed mother, a drunken father, and nine orphaned children.

Among the remaining more or less fictitious "lives" there were some that were even funnier than these; and there were some clever and good-natured allusions to my own foibles, not one of which had apparently escaped those keen-witted critics of twenty. But what impressed me more than anything else in connection with this unexpected burst of jocularity was that, with two exceptions, all the names of the jokers indicated American parentage, while, with three exceptions, the names of those who gave serious, matter-of-fact responses indicated foreign, principally German and Jewish, origin.

As an exhibition of the national character, I regard this result as exceedingly striking. I had observed, many times before, the tendency of Americans to take a facetious view of life, and extract the greatest possible amount of amusement out of every situation. But I had never quite believed that the tendency was so pronounced and universal as the above-cited proportion would seem to indicate. And yet, as I look back upon an experience of twenty-six years in the United States, I am confirmed in the opinion that the most pervasive trait in the American national character is jocularity. It is by that trait, above all, that Americans are differentiated from all other nations. It is apt to be one of the first observations of the intelligent foreigner who lands upon our shores, that all things, ourselves included, are with us legitimate subjects for jokes. An all-levelling democracy has tended to destroy the sense of reverence which hedges certain subjects with sanctity, guarding them against the shafts of wit.

Never shall I forget the shock I felt, the first time I was made aware of this spirit of heedless levity which spares nothing sacred or profane. More than twenty years ago, when I was introduced to a venerable clergyman—a kindly and cultivated man, but a trifle pompous in his manner—my introducer remarked that the reputed reason why the reverend gentleman had lived to be so old was that "he was waiting for a vacancy in the Trinity."

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I doubt if such a joke would be laughed at anywhere but in the United States. At least a score of witticisms I can recall of the same order; and these are but a small proportion of those which have been related to me during the last quarter of a century. Of course, the people who regard this species of fun as proper and innocent will regard the man who objects to it as a prig, if not a hypocrite. Another, and perhaps better, apology might be found in the popularity of the humorous anecdotes about St. Peter, as the guardian of the gate of heaven, which abound in all the countries of Europe. But in the first place, St. Peter is not to Protestants a sacred character; and, secondly, all the jocular stories told about him are of a mythological and semi-symbolic kind, which puts them into the category of the fairy-tale. Many *naïve* and innocent tales, in which Christ and "Unser Herrgott" figure, are circulated, in their medieval versions, among the peasantry in Germany and Scandinavia; but, so far from being in their essence blasphemous, they are survivals from a period of more childlike faith and more crudely anthropomorphic conceptions. The American joke, on the other hand, is the product of over-sophistication and a reckless determination to be funny, in connection with a total want of reverence.

I have often wondered what was the primary cause of the jocularity which one encounters everywhere within the borders of the United States—and which is verily the only trait that the entire population has in common. Even the European immigrant who at home would scarcely have made a joke once a year finds himself gradually inoculated with the national virus, and surprises himself by attempts at wit which are probably more gratifying to himself than amusing to his listeners. Having observed this phenomenon in the case of several Norwegians, who were surely far from being humorists in the old country, I came to the conclusion that the climate was in some way responsible. That our dry stimulating atmosphere arouses a high degree of cerebral activity is quite obvious; and humor is a form of mentality which demands a greater complexity of brain and greater expenditure of cerebral force than a mere unvarnished statement of fact. This alone may go far toward explaining a manifestation which, if I had not so frequently witnessed it, I should have pronounced absurd. Easier circumstances, which incline one to a more cheerful view of life, may also be taken into account; and the

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democratic spirit which makes every man his neighbor's superior is, perhaps, also a co-operating factor. But, whatever the cause may be, there is no disputing the fact that the national humor is infectious.

I had an amusing demonstration of this proposition a short time ago. A seedy and lugubrious Scandinavian ex-student who had battled ineffectually with an adverse fate, since he left his native land, honored me with a call and suggested that I might relieve his necessities by procuring him a professorship in Columbia College. If none was vacant, he would consent to connect himself with a less conspicuous institution. Having listened for half an hour to his atrocious English, I could not forego the opportunity to preach him a little homily, reproaching him with having neglected his opportunities to become Americanized, and demonstrating the absurdity of his aspirations. He then told me a highly romantic, dime-novelish autobiography, and ended by requesting a loan which would enable him to go somewhere, where I knew he had no intention of going. Looking at my countenance, and seeing that I did not believe a word of what he had been saying, he exclaimed in his native tongue:

"If I have to lie in order to make an honest living, why, you ought to thank your stars that you are so situated that you don't have to. If I were inadvertently to lapse into veracity, I should starve. No fellow would give me a d—— shilling."

I laughed, of course, and apologized for insinuating that he was not Americanized. I assured him that his humorous acceptance of his lot was thoroughly American. It furnished me with additional proof of the close kinship between the Anglo-Saxon and the Norseman.

It is, to my mind, a highly significant fact that humor is the only literary product which we export. Occasionally, to be sure, an American novel is translated into French and German; but, generally speaking, our serious literature is in no great demand in any European country. The only contemporary American authors who have really an international fame are Bret Harte and Mark Twain. Their books, in atrocious flamboyant covers, are to be found on every railway news-stand in England and on the Continent. The Queen of Italy was reported, some years ago, to have asked an American if we had any other living authors than Bret Harte and Mark Twain. In 1879, during a prolonged

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sojcurn in Paris, I had the pleasure of introducing the latter to Tourgueneff and receiving the Russian author's cordial thanks for having brought the famous humorist to see him.

"Now, there," he exclaimed, "is a real American—the first American who has had the kindness to conform to my idea of what an American ought to be. He has the flavor of the soil. Your other friends, Mr. A. and Mr. G., might as well be Europeans. They are excellent gentlemen, no doubt, but they are flavorless."

One evening, during the same year, when I went with Tourgueneff to a stag party at the house of a renowned *littérateur*, the conversation turned upon American humor. Several Frenchmen present, among others Alphonse Daudet, declared that the excellence of American humor had been greatly exaggerated. It seemed to them grotesque rather than funny.

"There appeared some American stories, a short time ago, in the *Revue Des Deux Mondes*," said Daudet, "they were by Mark Twain; I could see nothing at all humorous in any of them."

"What were they?" I asked.

"There was one named 'The Jumping Frog,'" he replied, "a pitiful tale about two men who made a wager about a frog, one betting that he could jump to a certain height, the other betting that he could not; then, when the time comes to test the jumping ability of the frog, it is found that he has been stuffed full of shot, and of course, he cannot jump."

"Well," I queried, determined to uphold my friend, Clemens, "isn't that rather funny?"

"No," Daudet replied decidedly, "I feel too sorry for the poor frog."

All the rest, except Tourgueneff, joined in this verdict. He thought the story had been so badly translated, that its real flavor was lost in the French version. He thereupon told an incident from *Roughing It* (I think), in order to prove that American humor was not lacking in salt. It was the story of an inundation on the plains. A party of emigrants have encamped in their wagons on a little hillock, while the water keeps rising round about them. Days pass and starvation stares them in the face. Every one has to eat the most dreadful things. "I," says the author, "ate my boots. *The holes tasted the best.*"

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"Now," cried Tourgueneff, "isn't that delightfully funny?"

All agreed, though with some qualifications, that a point had been made in favor of Tourgueneff's contention.

"But," objected a well-known editor, "how is it possible for a civilized man to live among a people who are always joking? In Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad* there is a perpetual strain of forced jocularity, which at last grows to be deadly wearisome. The author tortures himself to find the jocular view of all things, sacred and profane. Now, what I want to know is this: Is this attitude typically American? To me it is essentially juvenile and barbaric."

I took up the cudgels, of course, for Mark Twain, and declared unblushingly that the jocular attitude toward life was not typically American. But since then I have changed my mind. I have come to the conclusion that nothing is more "typically American" than this more or less forced jocularity. In the Western States, and largely also in the East, the man who does not habitually joke is voted dull, and is held to be poor company. Entertainment, at all social gatherings, consists in telling funny stories, and every man who has a social ambition takes care to provide himself with as large a fund as possible of humorous sayings and doings, which he doles out as occasion may demand. Even public speeches have to be richly seasoned with jokes, which (if they do not illustrate anything in particular) are dragged in by the hair, and are made the real *points de rêsistance* of the discource. The non-humorous portions of an after-dinner speech are merely the mortar which fills up the intervals and furnishes the needed transitions to the jokes. Our most popular orators, both in the East and the West, are, as a rule, mere encyclopædias of funny stories. Their discourses are apt to be abundantly interlarded with "that reminds me"—and then comes the anecdote, which may or may not have any obvious relation to the text.

I verily believe that the startling decay of eloquence in the United States, since the days of Webster, Calhoun and Clay, is largely due to our inability to be serious about serious things. We laugh now at the magnificent perorations of the great rhetoricians of the first half of the century; and a man has to have a very great name, indeed, in order to secure attention for a non-humorous oration on a matter of public concern. I am aware that the late George William Curtis, the last representative of the

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splendid old school of American oratory, did secure such attention; and Carl Schurz, another great citizen, has happily not yet outlived either his fame or his usefulness. But apart from these, I cannot recall the name of any renowned American speaker of the last decade who is not primarily a humorist.

Though I should be the last to deprecate a fair seasoning of humor in our toilsome and troublous lives, I can not but think that the seasoning with us takes the place of the dish and the dish of the seasoning. We invert the proper relation. And this inversion entails some serious and disadvantageous consequences. In the first place, it kills conversation. Instead of that interchange of thought, which with other civilized nations is held to be one of the highest of social pleasures, we exchange jokes. We report the latest jests we have heard, and repeat the latest comic stories. At a certain season certain stories and jokes have a particular vogue, and you hear them at every dinner table and at every club you enter. They get to be, at last, an intolerable bore; and yet, whether you hear them the tenth or the hundredth time, your sense of politeness compels you to feign merriment. You have to know a man very well before you can venture to "ring the chestnut bell on him." No observation I made on returning from Europe in 1879 was to me more startling than the discovery that in the United States there is, properly speaking, no conversation, *i. e.*, conversation of the kind that you enjoy in the best French and Italian salons. It is so much easier—it entails, in fact, no effort whatever—to rehearse ready-made anecdotes and *facetiæ*; and to a hard-worked commercial people it is, I doubt not, a great relief to be able to fall back upon this conversational coinage, already stamped and polished, which makes no draft upon our intellectual capital. An author with whom I recently discussed this curious phenomenon offered me, however, another and highly plausible explanation. Intellectual capital, he says, is to the American too valuable to be expended in mere talk which brings no financial return. The merchant expends it in his counting room, and is tired, if not cross, when he returns to the bosom of his family. The lawyer expends it in his office, and the author at his writing desk. We have no class of people here who can afford to squander their best powers on conversation; first, because we do not, like France, supply the social atmosphere in which the

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conversationalist thrives, and accordingly do not make it worth while for anyone to aspire to eminence in that line; and, secondly, we should probably vote him a bore and laugh at him behind his back, if we had him. But the habitual joker we do appreciate; the hoarder of funny stories is mistaken for a wit; dinner invitations are showered upon him, and his path is strewn with roses.

I fancy that the social condition presented on our side of the Atlantic has had no exact or even approximate parallel in the lands where civilization is older than it is with us. The more or less uproarious debate on political or religious topics which may be witnessed in every corner grocery throughout the Western and Southwestern States is, to be sure, of common occurrence in the corresponding social strata in every country where free discussion is not prohibited by law. Though as an intellectual exercise such a trial of wit is wholesome and diverting, I should scarcely dignify it by the name "conversation." The radiant serenity of soul, the bright clarity of thought, the genial tolerance of views opposed to your own, which are the essential conditions of that happy exchange of winged felicities which I call conversation, are, indeed, not unknown, either in Boston, Washington, or New York, but they are so rare as to justify the assertion that the social man, in his higher evolutions, is as yet practically unknown in the United States. The sweetness of tone which often pertains to ancient things, matured and seasoned in sunny repose, is not a frequent ingredient of the human soul in this land of crude self-assertion and mightily wrestling energies. How could it be? It would be a miracle if it were.

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.

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OUTLOOK FOR REPUBLICAN SUCCESS.

BY THE HON. CHARLES T. SAXTON, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

LAST fall the people had an opportunity to express their opinion upon the policy and record of the party in control of our national affairs. That opinion was expressed with a great deal of vigor and positiveness. The verdict of 1892 was completely reversed. The Republican party won a decisive victory in nearly every northern state. Those states which had left the Republican column two years before swung back into line, bringing with them many Democratic strongholds both in the North and in the South. There were 217 Democrats and 121 Republicans in the last House of Representatives. The Republican vote in the present house is more than twice as great, while the Democratic representation has shrunk to less than one-half of its former proportions. Never was a more stinging rebuke given to any political party in this country. The utter rout of the Democracy can only be construed by reasonable men into a sweeping condemnation of the present administration; nor has anything since occurred to shake the general belief in the entire justice of that condemnation.

The causes that brought about the Democratic victory of 1892 have been discussed from every possible stand-point until the subject is worn threadbare. Republican workingmen were deceived by the false cry that protection benefits capital at the expense of labor. Republican farmers listened to that siren voice which promised them dollar wheat in the event of Democratic success. Republican consumers were deluded by statements, continually sounded in their ears, that the McKinley tariff had materially increased the cost of living. Some manufacturers may have seen the mirage of more prosperous business reflected from the Demo-

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cratic promise of free raw materials. They have all had their eyes opened since to the false pretences that were practised upon them. But the efficient cause of Mr. Cleveland's election is to be sought for in that socialistic movement, known by the name of Populism, which had suddenly developed remarkable strength in some of the Western states. The result of the last presidential election was not really a Democratic victory, although it was unquestionably a defeat for the Republican party.

At the time of that election we were enjoying a prosperity almost, if not quite, unparalleled in this country or elsewhere. That is a fact within every man's knowledge—a fact as indisputable as the sunshine upon a cloudless summer day. We realize this more fully when we look back upon it from the depths of the business depression in which we have been floundering for the past two years. During 1892 we produced more and consumed more than ever before in the same period of time. Capital was profitably employed and labor was well paid. Agriculture was in a flourishing condition. The volume of foreign trade was greater than in any preceding year. The same statement can be made as to the value of our exports; while the balance of trade in our favor was greater than it had been since 1881. The McKinley tariff bill was in successful operation. That "culminating atrocity," as it was picturesquely styled by our Democratic friends, gave us a larger degree of free trade than we had enjoyed for thirty years, and at the same time afforded ample protection to all American industries. Although it had reduced the amount of revenue from customs, as its framers had designed it to do, it supplied more than enough, with what came in from other sources, to defray all the expenses of government. There was discontent as there always will be, because no matter how good our condition is we generally want to make it better. There was poverty as there ever has been, because the misfortunes of some and the faults of others have borne the same bitter fruit since the beginning of time. The silver question was a source of uneasiness to business men, but there was no lack of confidence in our ability to escape any serious danger from that direction. Taking them for all in all, the "Harrison times" were very good times indeed, and the Harrison administration was one of the cleanest, strongest and most successful administrations in the history of this republic.

This great prosperity that we have glanced at was followed by

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a greater adversity. The panic of 1893 which scattered destruction broadcast through the land ended in business prostration and industrial paralysis from which we have hardly yet begun to recover. We are told by the administration organs that better times are in sight. Every patriotic American is anxious to believe that is so, no matter what the effect may be upon the fortunes of this or that political party. But there is no reliable promise of such prosperity as was ours at the close of the last administration. It is true that some industries, especially the iron industry, are very active just now, and that many manufacturing companies have increased the wages of their employees. But it is not true that the general business of the country is in a satisfactory condition; and as for wages the average increase is no more than one-half the reductions that were made two years ago. The prices of most farm products are lower even than they were last year and that was the worst year the farmers of this generation had ever experienced. It is evident, however, that we have touched the lowest point, and we have every reason to expect a gradual improvement in business conditions; but it is equally evident that the brighter outlook comes from the assurance given by the election of a Republican House of Representatives last fall that there will be no more free trade legislation enacted during the remaining life of this administration.

The cause of the panic has been the subject of endless controversy. The theory of those who appear in the role of apologists for the present administration is that all our recent financial and industrial difficulties were a legacy from the preceding administration. They insist that the clouds which burst with such devastating fury had been gathering for years. They point out that the ship of state had long been drifting toward the breakers. The most significant thing in connection with this theory, at least to those who are considering the chances of the parties in 1896, is that the people do not accept it for the reason that so far as they can judge it has no foundation in fact. The sky was, to their view, clear and serene, without a shadow to obscure its brightness, until after the election of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. The breakers, if there were any before that time, were effectually concealed from their vision. There was no trouble about the currency. The gold reserve was maintained at the proper figure without any trouble. The revenues

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under the new tariff bill, which had fallen off at first, were beginning to increase very considerably. The deficiency of 1893–4 is abundantly explained by the depression in all kinds of business. With these facts in mind the suspicion naturally arises that the clouds and breakers were only discovered by those who were looking backward for some explanation, besides the obvious one, of the hard times that followed so closely upon the heels of Democratic victory.

The Democratic party has never in this generation had the genuine confidence of the people. For nearly half a century it has been on the wrong side of every great national issue. It has shown an amazing capacity for committing political blunders, some of which were equivalent to political crimes. "How shall a man escape from his ancestors," exclaims Emerson, "or draw off from his veins the black drop which he drew from his father's or his mother's life?" There has always been an irresistible tendency in the Democratic party to do just the thing it ought not to do. Speaking of it as of an individual, we would say that there is a taint in the blood, a taint of weakness and incapacity if nothing worse. For some years past it has masqueraded as the party of economy and reform. There is no doubt but that Democratic leaders are always in favor of honest and economical government *by the Republican party*. For illustration, we remember that in 1890 the "billion dollar Congress" was denounced by every Democratic orator and newspaper in the land. The next Congress, which was Democratic in both branches, went far beyond the billion-dollar mark, and there has been an impressive silence ever since upon the subject of retrenchment in national expenditures. There are some leaders of the party who have a genuine desire to reform those abuses which in their judgment need reformation. They are as a rule of the mugwump variety and their number is not large. Their delusion is the belief that they represent in that respect the masses of the Democratic party. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Reform is a profession and not a practice with the Democracy. When we hear about it from Democratic leaders we may be sure it is *vox et praeterea nihil*, a promise that will never materialize into performance.

There is one exception, however, to this rule. The Democratic party is thoroughly committed by precept and practice to

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tariff reform. That means, according to the latest definition made by a Democratic National Convention, the destruction of every kind of protection to American industries. The "tariff for revenue only" of 1876 and 1880 has finally developed by a perfectly natural process into the dogma that the very principle of protection in a tariff bill is a fraud, a robbery, and a violation of the constitution. This is certainly as near an approach as can be made to the doctrine of absolute free trade without abandoning entirely our system of raising revenue by duties upon imports.

The Wilson bill was an effort to embody this doctrine in a statute. It started out as a vigorous attack upon protection, but, fortunately for the country, the attack was not so vigorously supported in the Senate. When the House bill emerged from the darkness and secrecy of the Senate Committee it had lost much of its beautiful symmetry, but what it had lost in beauty it had gained in wisdom and strength. Looking at it from a Democratic standpoint, it was very far from being a radical measure, although we will do the free trade leaders the justice to admit that they got all they could and gave fair warning that more would be demanded at the first favorable opportunity. In fact, the bill as finally passed was a protection measure, although wholly illogical and unsystematic in its construction. It was a protection measure in another sense when considered in its relations to the sugar trust.

There never was a more disastrous failure from any point of view than the Wilson-Gorman tariff law. Having for its central idea free raw materials, it placed coal and iron on the protected list. Having for its main purpose a sufficient revenue, it has brought about an annual deficiency of fifty or sixty millions of dollars, and reduced the government to the necessity of borrowing money with which to pay its current expenses. Having in view an increase of foreign trade, it has accomplished its design, if at all, only by increasing the value of our imports and diminishing largely the value of our exports. It has crippled many industries, and reduced the wages of thousands of our workingmen. It wrought the destruction of the valuable reciprocity relations we had with several foreign states. One of its most prominent features is the discrimination it made in favor of southern productions. So pronounced was this feature that the President was

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moved to utter a protest and a warning, which, it is needless to say, were unheeded by Congress. "How can we face the people," wrote he, "after indulging in such outrageous discriminations and violations of principle?" The scandals that clustered around the bill are still fresh in the public mind. Well might President Cleveland declare that it meant "party perfidy and party dishonor," and refuse it the sanction of his signature.

It is important to have the tariff question settled right, but it is even more important to have it settled in some way, right or wrong, so it will stay settled. If the Democratic party has any organic will at all, and that is by no means certain, that will is to destroy our American system of protection. The real leaders of the party will never be satisfied until that result is accomplished. The Hon. Lawrence T. Neal, who was the author of the tariff plank in the Chicago platform recently opened the campaign in Ohio. He said in the course of his speech that the Wilson bill is to be followed by the enactment of other laws "making still further reductions and bringing us nearer to the standard of a tariff for revenue." This is but the echo of what has been said in substance time and again by Democratic orators. It reflects the views of a large majority of the party, and that is the chief reason why the party will not succeed next year.

The issue is clearly defined. It is not a question of schedules but of principles. The great mass of the Northern people believe in the principle of protection. That belief is gaining ground even in the Southern States, several of which are beginning to feel the strong pulse of a new industrial life. The result of the last presidential election was not a verdict against the protection system. The people looked to the letter of the candidate, rather than to the platform of the party, for a declaration of principles upon the tariff question. When it began to dawn upon them, as it did soon after the election, that the triumph of the Democracy was a severe blow at protection they became alarmed and indignant. This feeling found vent in the elections last year. The revolution which then took place was not caused so much by the hard times as by the general conviction among the people that the hard times were brought about by the threat involved in Democratic rule. There is no danger now that the "tariff reformers" will carry us any further along the road that leads to free trade,

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for the simple reason that they will not again have the opportunity, at least for some years, to meddle with the delicate machinery of our industrial system.

Nor is it likely that even with the tariff question out of the way the people would intrust that party with the settlement of our financial difficulties. When the panic came the administration tried to place the responsibility upon the Sherman act. It is a favorite boast of Democratic leaders that their representatives in Congress unanimously opposed the passage of that measure; but they are careful not to state that the reason for the opposition was that a large majority of those representatives wanted free coinage and nothing less. When Mr. Bland moved, in June, 1890, to commit the Conger silver purchase bill to the committee, with instructions to report back a free coinage bill, 100 out of the 116 affirmative votes were from the Democratic side. Only thirteen Democratic votes were recorded against it. When the bill afterwards came up in the Senate twenty-eight out of the thirty-seven Democratic Senators voted for the Plumb free coinage substitute, and but three of them were recorded against it. The President is entitled to great credit for setting his face so resolutely against the fifty cent dollar, but in so doing he turned his back upon his party as represented in Congress. There is about the same comparison between the danger threatened by the Sherman act and that to be apprehended from the free coinage of silver as there is between a mild gale and a western cyclone. When that act was passed there was a well grounded hope that its effect would be to stay the downward course in the price of the white metal. Unfortunately that hope was not realized and it was time that the law should be repealed. The Democratic Congress was powerless even to do that without the aid of the Republican minority. There is every reason to believe that no evils would have flowed from the law, except the loss sustained by the treasury in buying silver on a falling market, but for the profound and widespread distrust of the party in power.

Business men have but little confidence in Democratic financiering. They remember, among other things, that in 1868 the party was in favor of paying the national debt in depreciated currency, and that in 1876 it denounced resumption of specie payments. They know that it has always shown a willingness to embrace any financial heresy, and that its very last deliverance

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upon the money question was in favor of the "wild cat" currency of the old State banking system.

The last Congress demonstrated its incapacity to deal with financial matters. It lacked both the wisdom and the will. Nothing was done for the relief of the treasury. Secretary Carlisle has been compelled to sell bonds to maintain the gold reserve and provide for current expenses. The revenues now are wholly inadequate for the purposes of the government. The national debt has been increased to the extent of $150,000,000, or much more as some claim. But Congress adjourned in the midst of these difficulties without making an effort to relieve the situation.

The people like to see a party have a policy and a purpose. They expect those who are intrusted with political power to know what to do, and how to do it. We are confronted with some very troublesome questions. They can never be settled by a divided party. The Republican party is always able to agree with itself on important matters. It may make mistakes, but it never makes the unpardonable mistake of doing nothing in the face of a great emergency. The Republicans in Congress will soon have a splendid opportunity to show the quality of their statesmanship. They should embrace that opportunity without hesitation. In such a case, as in all cases, fidelity to the public interests will be the surest road to party success.

The average American has a strong feeling of pride and affection for his country. He is even so prejudiced and narrow minded as to think more of his own country than of any other. He expects the national government to uphold at any cost the honor and dignity of the American name. He would promptly resent any insult to the flag, and firmly repel any attack upon the integrity of the Monroe doctrine. Furthermore, he believes that this country, as the great power of the western world, owes duties to its neighbors; and that, while it should do nothing rash, or quixotic, it should manifest in a proper way its sympathies with those in every land who aspire to liberty and struggle against oppression. To this extent he is a jingo, and he accepts the name as a title of honor.

Americans of this class, and they are largely in the majority, feel humiliated beyond expression by the foreign policy of this administration. They look upon it as weak, cowardly, and un-

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patriotic. They contrast it with the firm and vigorous policy of President Harrison and his cabinet. They point to the Hawaiian affair as the most disgraceful chapter in our diplomatic history. They refer also to Samoa, and the surrender of the Japanese students, and the Waller incident, as illustrations of the fibreless character of our State Department in its dealings with foreign nations.

There are other counts in the people's indictment against this administration, but it is not necessary to mention them. The weakness of the Democratic party is structural. Its fatal defect is the absence of anything like unity of purpose. The platform upon which its various factions can agree is one which means all things to all men. About the only unequivocal declaration it has made for years was the tariff plank of 1892; and its leaders have spent most of their time since in explaining that away. It is not so much a party as an association of opposing elements formed for the single purpose of getting and keeping control of the government. There is no intention of charging that individual Democrats are actuated more than individual Republicans by selfish motives; but the purpose above indicated is the only real bond of union that holds together the heterogeneous collection of persons that goes by the name of the Democratic party. One is reminded by it of the old copy-book line, "Many men of many minds." No Democratic leader can be named, unless he be a free trader, who reflects the opinion on any considerable portion of his party on national issues.

The circumstances above recited furnish the strongest reasons for the belief that the Republican party will succeed in the coming elections. The people understand the matter very thoroughly. They may not all be able to grasp the theories of the economist, but there are not many among them who do not readily comprehend the meaning of facts and the logic of conditions.

President Cleveland received less than forty-six per cent. of the popular vote in 1892; a smaller portion than he received in 1888, when he was defeated. The Republican States of Wisconsin, Illinois, North Dakota, California, Indiana and Ohio cast sixty-one votes for him; and the states of Kansas, Colorado, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon and Idaho gave twenty-two votes for Weaver. That result was chiefly due to the twin delusions, Populism and Free Coinage, both of which reached high water

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mark that year. If those states had been where they belong Harrison would have been elected. Nothing is more certain than that nearly, if not quite, all of them will choose Republican electors next year. The people of the West have had enough of Populism, which brought them nothing but anarchy and financial disaster. The free coinage question will not cut much of a figure outside of the silver producing states. It was pointed out by the Chairman of the Republican National Committee in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for April, 1894, that a change of 27,426 votes, properly distributed in California, Delaware, Idaho, North Dakota, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri and West Virginia would have given those states to Harrison and secured his election. The Republican party succeeded last fall in every one of those states, except California, by pluralities, aggregating 240,000; and even in California there was a large Republican plurality upon the vote for Representatives in Congress. The Democratic party cannot properly succeed next year without the vote of New York State. Judging from present appearances, that vote will surely be cast for the Republican candidates.

In fact, viewing the situation from any standpoint, the prospect of Republican success is of the most encouraging character. The party is thoroughly united on all matters of national policy. Its achievements shine with a brighter lustre than ever against the dark back-ground of Democratic incompetency. The people know that it can be relied upon to protect their highest interests at home and abroad. They have confidence in its ability to rise above every difficulty and settle in a statesmanlike way every question that may arise.

CHARLES T. SAXTON.

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WHAT BECOMES OF COLLEGE WOMEN.

BY CHARLES F. THWING, LL. D., PRESIDENT OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY AND ADELBERT COLLEGE.

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS closed his memorable address at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of Vassar College with these words: "We have left woman as a slave with Homer and Pericles. We have left her as a foolish goddess with Chivalry and Don Quixote. We have left her as a toy with Chesterfield and the club; and in the enlightened American daughter, wife, and mother, in the free American home, we find the fairest flower and the highest promise of American civilization."

The classic phrase of the orator is an expression of a simple fact. That fact is that about fifty-five per cent. of the woman-graduates of our colleges marry. The fact is a happy one—happy for the wives and husbands, and happy also for the homes. For most women prefer to marry. The fears early expressed that the college women would prefer a public to a domestic career, have proved to be false. Women have resigned exalted public places to become heads of simple American homes. The fact that most women prefer to marry is also a happy one for life itself. The home is the center of life; it is the source of life's best influences. No contribution for its enrichment is too costly. All that learning and culture can offer, all that the virtues can achieve, all that the graces can contribute, all that which the college represents and embodies, is none too rich for the betterment of the home. The college woman, therefore, as embodying the best type of womanhood, is bringing the best offering of herself to the worthiest shrine.

Twenty per cent. of all women who become of a marriageable age do not marry, and it is apparent that about forty per cent. of

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college women, who have become of a marriageable age, have not married. The question, therefore, is, what work are the unmarried women doing? Are they doing a work of value sufficient to justify the time and money spent in securing an education? Are they doing a work of the highest educational or ethical or civil value?

About 4,000 women are graduates of the principal colleges for women in the United States, and among these principal colleges may be named Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Barnard, and the College for Women of Western Reserve University. Besides these colleges there are many co-educational institutions. There are probably another 4,000 women graduates from reputable colleges which are open alike to women and to men. Of this great number of well-trained women it is probable that about 5,000 are at the heads of homes, or will finally find their career to be a domestic one. Of the remaining 3,000 it is to be said at once that they are found engaged in almost every employment.

The most popular, however, of all the fields of work for the college woman is that represented in the school-room. It is probable that at least two-thirds of all college graduates teach for at least a short time after their graduation. Surely no work is more important than teaching in the public or the private school, and no woman is better fitted to do the duties constituting this work than the well-bred and well-trained college woman.* The American school-room needs good manners, good breeding, instruction beyond the text book and the lesson, and, more than all, it needs culture and sympathy in the teacher. These are needs which the

* I am indebted for certain facts about the proportion of women who marry to Miss Milicent W. Shinn. But the marriage rate of college women is a very involved question. President Taylor, of Vassar, writes me as follows: "One of the puzzles, it seems to me, in gathering statistics regarding the women's colleges, and especially on the points bearing on graduate work and on marriage, grows out of the fact that women enter into both of these spheres much later than men do ofttimes. That is to say, a young woman teaches very often several years before she undertakes her graduate work. That seems to me much truer in regard to them than in regard to young men, and certainly it is true of marriage, if I have observed with any accuracy, that in estimating the statistics, or the average number of marriages among a body of alumnæ, it is unfair and misrepresents the truth to state the matter without regard to the recent graduates, by far the most numerous classes, who are not likely to marry for two or three, and sometimes more, years after their graduation. Of course there are exceptions. We have had a large number of marriages lately among our recent graduates, but after all, the suggestion that I make will hold. . . . I know that in this matter, in which the public seems to be very largely interested, statistics are constantly misleading." So also Miss Mary Caswell, Secretary to the President of Wellesley College, writes me in reference to that college that "the percentage of alumnæ who marry is 17⅓. The estimate is easily made, yet it is in a manner misleading, since in the sum total are included the later and, on the whole, larger classes, which represent possibilities of marriage not yet realized. Taking out the class of 1895, for instance, I get a higher percentage, 19 per cent."

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college graduate is best fitted to fill. The public schools in every grade have this need, and it is a happy thing to be able to say that in hundreds and almost thousands of high schools throughout the country are found graduates of our colleges, not only doing the routine work which belongs to the teachers' profession but also contributing to this work the richness of culture and the breadth of sympathy which produce results far more precious than the ordinary routine of educational service. The college woman has not yet gone to a large degree into the schools of the grammar grade; but there are many reasons for believing that the grammar schools and the primary schools are soon to have the advantage of her presence and her work. It will be a happy time for American schools and American life, when every teacher's place is filled by a collegian. The normal school, in certain respects, gives an excellent training, but the best teacher is one who has first had the general training and the culture of the college to which is added the professional training of the best normal school.

It is to be said that women are found, though in less numbers, teaching in the colleges for women as well as in the high schools and other schools. To a slight extent they do teach men in colleges which are open to both men and women. Yet the time is not far distant when we may find women teaching in men's colleges. I was recently approached by one of the most distinguished scholars of the United States, herself a teacher in a conspicuous college for women, asking me in the most gracious way whether, if she accepted a position as teacher in the College for Women of Western Reserve University, she would be allowed to be a teacher in Adelbert College for men, which is a part of the same University? There are in the United States, according to the census of 1890, 735 women who are professors in colleges and universities. A large proportion of these women are to be found in colleges and universities which are hardly of a high collegiate grade, and not a few of them themselves are not graduates of any college, but among them are many eminent scholars, who teach branches as erudite as the highest mathematics and as advanced as the most refined philology.

Of the ten most conspicuous women who are graduates of Vassar College, and of the ten most conspicuous who come from Cornell University and from the University of Michigan, more

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than half are teachers in the colleges for women. They hold chairs of social science, of English, of botany, of chemistry, of Greek, of astronomy, of history, and of political science. They are giving to the cause of education, of culture, and of a higher civilization the same contribution which men in similar positions in the colleges for men are giving.

The last census of the United States shows that the number of women who are preachers is now 1,235, who are lawyers 208, and who are physicians and surgeons 4,555; but in these numbers are to be found only a few who are college women. A lamentably small proportion of the physicians of this country are college-bred. Out of the more than 4,000 women who are physicians it is probable that not more than 200 have had a college training. Out of the more than 1,800 women who are members of the Collegiate Alumnæ Association are only 34 physicians. The law, the ministry and journalism command a far smaller proportion, for, in the same association of college women, there are only half a dozen lawyers, preachers and journalists.

As one reads over the names of the graduates of the colleges for women of the last twenty-five years he is impressed with the fact that only a few of these women have attained distinction, or have held conspicuous positions. One is reminded of the remark which Sydney Smith, writing in 1810, made, though not with absolute correctness, that up to that time no woman had produced a single notable work either of imagination or reason, in English, German, French or Italian literature. Three quarters of a century after Sydney Smith wrote, Mrs. Fawcett showed that there were at least forty women who had left a permanent mark in English literature alone; and yet, one can not fail to be impressed with the sad and glad fact that so few of college women have become famous. I have recently had an examination made of *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography** to discover the nature of the early training and also the character of the employment of the persons therein named. The work contains between fifteen thousand and sixteen thousand names, of which only 633 are names of women. Of these 633 women 320 are authors; seventy-three are singers or actresses; ninety-one are sculptors or painters; sixty-eight are educators; twenty-one may be called philanthropists; fourteen are missionaries; thirteen doctors;

* The Cyclopædia was published 1886-1889.

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twenty-eight may be described as having their places in this article because of heroic deeds. There are also three who are described as engaging in business, one in nursing and one in following the profession of law. Of these 633 persons only nineteen have had a college training; of the 320 women who are named as authors, only nine are college women; of the ninety-one artists only one; of the actresses also one; of the educators seven; of the missionaries one only is college-bred. It is evident that the college woman has not become famous. This result is not strange, for the time since the college woman has been at all possible has not been long; and the time since the college woman has existed as an important part of American life has been very much shorter. Usually longer periods of time are necessary for doing that work of which the result is fame.

The effect of marriage upon the winning of distinction is not so great as first thought would lead one to believe, for of the six hundred and thirty-three women named in *Appleton's Cyclopædia* one-half are married and one-half are unmarried. Some of the most distinguished women of the country have been married, and some women who have not been married have gained hardly greater distinction. Half of the women named in Appleton's work won fame through their books, and it is known that writing is one of those arts that can be carried on at home. The number of women who enter public employments is increasing, and these employments are usually inconsistent with the life of a wife and mother. We therefore shall find an increasing proportion of the distinguished women, who are college graduates, unmarried.

I have recently made two lists, one of the distinguished women who are not graduates and one of distinguished women who are graduates. The two lists manifest a striking difference in that nearly all the distinguished women who are not graduates are distinguished for their writings, and they belong to the older order of women. In the list of graduates I notice that the more distinguished women are distinguished for their work as teachers or scientific investigators. They do, at any rate, represent services to the cause of scholarship of the highest value. They are to be found, these women, as presidents of colleges, at the head of great philanthropic movements, as teachers of history, literature, philology, mathematics, Greek and chemistry. There are

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names that suggest erudite thinking in the mathematics and in abstruse scientific investigation, and also in the application of scientific investigation to the problems of practical house-keeping. They and their work represent the high water-mark of our civilization.

But one induction of a nature somewhat startling is made evident. It is that from the great field of literature the college woman has been absent as a creator for the last twenty years. The number of books, of every sort, written by college women is very few. No college woman has yet arisen whose work is to be put into the same class with the works of Miss Wilkins, Miss Murfree, or of Miss Phelps, or of several others whose greatest works have appeared in the time since the first college was opened to women. The American college has given us great scholars, great philanthropists, great administrators, great teachers. It has given us Frances E. Willard and Lucy Stone. It has not given us great writers. It has given us no great novelist. It has given one or two, and only one or two, essayists, and, without doubt, the most conspicuous is Miss Vida Scudder.

It is possible that one may say that the American college for men has not given us great writers. The remark is partially true and partially false. Of the great historians, all, with one exception, are graduates. Of that generation of poets who have helped to render American literature illustrious, all, with the exception of Whittier, are graduates. Some of the greatest essayists are not indeed included in the list, but Emerson is there. Of our novelists, a part, and a part only, are graduates. One does not forget that Howells is not a graduate, neither is Aldrich, but one does not fail to remember that Hawthorne was trained at the college of Longfellow.

But all exceptions aside, it is certainly true that the graduates of the colleges for women have not made that contribution to literature that they have made to scholarship, or to teaching, or to administration. To consider the cause of this condition would carry us too far afield for the present discussion.

It would be somewhat bold in anyone to say who are the most distinguished women of any college; but one who knows the University of Michigan intimately and has known it for years, and another who has had a hardly less intimate acquaintance with Cornell University, send to me the names of ten whom they

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regard as the most conspicuous in the history of these two great colleges. In the Michigan University they are as follows:

Dr. E. J. MOSHER, Class of 1875, now an eminent practitioner in Brooklyn, N. Y., who was professor in Vassar College, and for some time had charge of the Massachusetts Prison for Women at South Framingham.

Dr. L. A. HOWARD KING, '76, Tientsin, China. Miss Howard became eminent as a missionary physician by her successful treatment of the wife of the great Viceroy, Li Hung Chang. He became so interested in her work, that, with the aid of some of his mandarins, he erected a hospital and equipped it for her use. She afterwards married an English missionary named King. She did more to introduce Western medicine and surgery into China than almost any other person.

Dr. LUCY HALL BROWN, a practitioner in Brooklyn, New York, and also for some years a Professor in Vassar College. She graduated in 1878.

MARY SHELDON BARNES, '74, wife of Professor Barnes, of Leland Stanford University. She was for some time Professor of History in Wellesley College. She has written historical text books.

ANGIE C. CHAPIN, '75, Professor of Greek in Wellesley College.

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER, the distinguished ex-President of Wellesley College. Graduated in the class of '76.

LUCY M. SALMON, '76, the head of the Department of History in Vassar College.

MARY E. BYRD, '78, Professor of Astronomy, Smith College.

KATHERINE E. COMAN, '80, Professor of History and Political Economy in Wellesley College.

From Cornell graduated the following women:

Mrs. JULIA IRVINE, President of Wellesley College.

MARTHA CAREY THOMAS, who holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Zurich, and is now President of Bryn Mawr College.

RUTH PUTNAM, author of "William the Silent Prince of Orange, the Moderate Man of the XVI. Century."

Mrs. SUSANNA PHELPS GAGE, scientist and illustrator.

Mrs. A. W. SMITH, in 1895 Assistant Professor of Social Science in Leland Stanford University.

EMILY L. GREGORY, Ph. D. (Zurich), Professor of Botany in Barnard College.

Mrs. FLORENCE KELLEY WISCHNEWETZKY, now Chief Inspector of Factories for the State of Illinois, and well-known as an author upon social problems.

Mrs. ANNA BOTSFORD COMSTOCK, entomologist and wood engraver.

KATE MAY EDWARDS, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Greek at Wellesley College.

ELIZA RITCHIE, Ph. D., Instructor in Philosophy at Wellesley College.

Mrs. MILA TUPPER MAYNARD, formerly pastor of churches at La Porte, Ind., and at Grand Rapids, Mich.

Among the most famous graduates of Vassar College, one cannot fail to make mention of Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, connected with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who

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has for twenty years been an eminent student and teacher in applied chemistry; of Christine Ladd Franklin, mathematician and logician; of Mary A. Jordan, Professor in Smith College, and whose services have been a great power in the building up of that popular college; of Heloise E. Hersey, formerly professor in Smith College, and now at the head of a successful school for girls in Boston; of Mary Whitney, worthy successor to Maria Mitchell at Vassar; of Frances Fisher Wood, a physician in New York; and of Mrs. Elizabeth W. Champney, the author of several popular books.

The record of the graduates of the Bryn Mawr College is one less distinguished than these names just suggested make, for the college was founded in 1885, and no graduate is of a standing longer than six years. But the following facts are most promising of useful and distinguished careers:

Number of A. B.'s to 1895	145
Have taken degree of Ph. D	2
Have taken degree of A. M	10
Engaged in graduate study	43
Dean of College	1
Lecturers, demonstrators, etc., in colleges	11
Private tutors and school teachers	35
Secretaries	6
Librarians	1
Literary workers	1
Philanthropic workers	3
Married	15
Doing no special work	52
Dead	2

Surely such a record as is herein suggested is tremendously significant. Whether it is better, or not so good a record as men would have permitted the historian to make it is not necessary to say, but this record does represent work which is absolutely worth doing. The result is one of absolute satisfaction to the friend of the cause of college education for women. The American college has helped American women to get strength without becoming priggish, vigor of heart without being cold; it has helped them to become rich in knowledge without being pedantic, broad in sympathy without wanting a public career, and large-minded and broad-minded without neglecting humble duties. The American college has helped woman toward doing the highest work, by the wisest methods, with the richest results.

CHARLES F. THWING.

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JINGOES AND SILVERITES.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

ONE of the most subtle, and, since there is no other word so expressive, most damnable arguments which have been presented in support of the free coinage of silver by this country without regard to the action of other countries, is that it is for our interest and profit to take action on every point in reverse to the acts of Great Britain. This proposal has been carried so far by some of the attorneys of the owners of silver mines as to lead them to advocate a war with Great Britain as a means of profit and benefit to the United States. The danger in this view of the matter is that it may find a ready response in a large class of legislators who regard all imports from foreign countries as of the nature of a war upon our domestic industry. Witness the fact that in the effort to promote partisan legislation and to seek favor with the so-called silver party, the junior Senator of the State of Massachusetts has proposed a policy on behalf of the so-called silver interests in our dealings with Great Britain even more grossly ridiculous than the conception which the attorneys of the silver miners have presented.

His proposal was to attempt to force Great Britain to adopt a bimetallic treaty of legal tender by putting differential duties in this country upon the products of Great Britain. These facts distinctly prove that there is no argument so gross in its nature that it may not be employed by men of public station, otherwise of good repute, in their effort to compass party success. It is a sad commentary upon human nature, giving an example of the depravity of mind which may be brought upon a man who sinks the principles of a statesman in order to compass the success of a partisan.

The Jingo element can only become dangerous through the

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negligence of the mass of thinking men. That men are negligent is witnessed by the fact that those who would promote war with Great Britain do not immediately become disgraced as they might rightly be.

There is another bad feature in the existing state of opinion. A great deal of money has lately been expended at the public cost in the construction of a new navy. We surely needed a certain type of war vessels to which no exception could be taken in the present state of the world. We required armed cruisers which could be speedily sent to dangerous points for the protection of our citizens in foreign lands and for the protection of our commerce. We may have been justified in constructing one or two so-called battle ships without waiting for their worthlessness to be disclosed; but we cannot be justified in having constructed two very costly vessels of war which are known in the navy and generally among the people as "Commerce Destroyers." That name is a disgrace to the ship, to officers of the navy and to the nation. These two ships of war cost about seven million dollars or a little more. That sum is nearly as great as the endowment of our oldest University, Harvard. The annual cost of maintaining these vessels in service is nearly, if not quite, equal to the pay roll of Harvard University. The time was when it was considered justifiable for any army to sack a city and for the officers and soldiers of an army to enrich themselves from the plunder of the private houses and other property of a conquered country. That time has long since passed. The sacking of cities is a disgrace. Private plunder is treated as robbery. An officer joining therein ceases to be a gentleman, and is regarded as a thief. Yet what would disgrace an army and its officers upon the land may be imposed upon the navy and its officers as a duty. It is now held to be among their lawful functions to do the work of pirates in ships of war built at the public cost, bearing the degrading name of "Commerce Destroyers." The nation was even represented at the recent opening of the peaceful canal at Kiel by one of these vilely named armed vessels.

What could have been more grotesque than the display of war vessels at the opening of the ship canal at Kiel—one hundred great armed vessels of different types more or less worthless in the face of the latest type of gun and shell, accompanied by twenty-five smaller vessels, sent thither from various states and

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nations, at a very heavy cost, to celebrate the opening of a canal whose purpose is to carry cotton, fibres and metals to the people of Germany, in the conversion of which into finished goods for export they may be enabled to sustain the increasing burden of armies and navies. The cost of the canal was about forty million dollars. The waste upon these big and mainly worthless war ships must have represented an expenditure of not less than two hundred million dollars.

The display of these engines of destruction was mostly made by the nations of continental Europe, which nations or states maintain, within an area of European territory about corresponding to that of the United States, omitting Alaska, barriers to mutual service at the borders of separation, at which a revenue is collected by taxes upon imports, supplemented in some cases by bounties upon exports, not quite equal to the cost of sustaining the armies which, except for these barriers to mutual service, would have no reason for their existence. In this way the inherited prejudice of race and creed is maintained while the people are kept in a condition of poverty which, in respect to many of these states, is year by year becoming more hopeless.

Contrast these conditions with our relations with the neighboring Dominion of Canada. It is true that in 1866, I believe, we abandoned the treaty of reciprocity under which for many years the people of both sections of this continent had greatly thriven, and that we are now striving to recover the advantage which we might have enjoyed throughout the intervening period by making another treaty. We exchange some of the products of our agriculture with Canada, and, owing to our more southern position and greater sunshine, we are enabled to supply her with the products of our fields in rather larger measure than she can supply us. There is no antagonism between us, and throughout the long civil war not a ship was needed to watch the harbors of Canada lest an attack should be made from them upon us, and not a regiment was called for to guard our long northern frontier. On that frontier there also exists a canal, far greater in its service than the canal at Kiel can ever be. The tonnage which passes yearly through the St. Mary's Canal, which unites our great lakes, exceeds that of the Suez Canal. Yet not a fort is required to guard that canal, and not a ship of war is permitted upon either of the great lakes.

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The true Monroe doctrine, so different from that which the Jingo element among our politicians so grossly misrepresents, has been applied to these lakes since 1818. After the last war with Great Britain the United States possessed the complete naval control of the lakes. The armed vessels of Great Britain had either been destroyed or were laid up almost worthless in the harbors of Canada. In 1817 John Quincy Adams, Minister to Great Britain, proposed to the English Government that neither should thereafter maintain any armed naval force upon the lakes. This course was advocated in order to "avoid the danger of collision and to save expense." The subject was duly considered for nearly a year in Washington and in London. John Quincy Adams returned to America and became Secretary of State. In 1818 President Monroe stated to the Senate that an agreement had been made permitting four revenue cutters on each side, each with one gun, upon these great inland waters. Aside from that, no armed ship was to be permitted. He asked the Senate to express its judgment upon this agreement which had not even taken the dignity of a formal treaty, and when the assent of the Senate had been given he issued the proclamation certified by John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, under which peace has been maintained, collision has been avoided, and an enormous expense has been saved both by this country and by Canada. Yet it is even now considered reputable for the United States to construct "Commerce Destroyers" to exercise their piratical functions under the flag of the Union upon the open seas!

It is time for the farmers of the Western and of the Middle States remote from the ocean to give thought to these conditions. It is time that the English speaking people entered into a commercial treaty exempting private property from seizure upon the sea, with such assent from other nations as might be had. When the English speaking people unite their forces for the protection of commerce by declaring that the destruction of private property at sea by the war vessels of any nation should be held as piracy, the moral support of the world would be given to such an agreement, and no nation, however under the control of a military caste, would dare refuse assent to such an agreement.

We, therefore, have the whole moral and economic force of the community on the one side and the Jingo element on the other—the one comprising the great body of thinking people,

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slow to observe, slow to make up its mind and slow to act; the other noisy, unprincipled and aggressive, taking advantage of every petty prejudice to excite animosity and to betray the peace of the country. If there be no higher motive required to arrest political depravity, let the economic side of the question only be regarded. By what nations is the commerce mainly conducted which it would be the function of our "Commerce Destroyers" to work their evil upon in case of war? Almost wholly by England and Germany, our two largest customers for the excess of our products of the field and of the farm; also by the Scandinavian nations and the Netherlands, who are the middle men among nations, bearing our products across the seas and bringing back from the tropical and semi-tropical countries the products that we need.

What would be the effect of war with either England or Germany, coupled with the destruction of their commerce? The surplus product of Western farms and Southern plantations might rot upon the field. The proportion of grain exported, or of dairy products and meats, is not as large as the proportions of our cotton export, yet if shut in and thrown upon the market already fully supplied, it would depress all prices to the loss and damage of every farmer in the land; while on the other hand, cutting off the supply of foreign fabrics would for the time being give such a monopoly to domestic manufactures as to increase the cost of everything that the farmer buys. It is perfectly logical for the advocates of a prohibitory tariff to take the position long since taken by Henry C. Carey, who said that "he would regard a ten years' war with England as the greatest material benefit that could happen to this country." People are wiser now than they were when they listened to such a false prophet, and yet there are to-day a sufficient number of ignorant persons to whom a similar appeal is made.

Again: The attorneys of the silver miners and their coadjutors urge the adoption of the silver standard and the demonetization of gold on the ground that it is for our interest to take the reverse of the policy of Great Britain, where the gold standard has been maintained for two generations and where it will be maintained. The audacity of this proposition is only equalled by its absurdity. A very large part of the foreign exports of Great Britain and Germany are to the silver-using nations of Asia, Africa and South America. The exporters of Great Britain have,

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in fact, been exposed to a good deal of hardship and difficulty in adjusting the terms of exchange with their principal customers. What could be a greater relief to Great Britain than for the United States to sell her the cotton, the corn, the dairy products and presently the coal and the ores which she must have for conversion into finished fabrics, giving her the opportunity to convert them into these finished goods and then to sell them to the silver-using nations on silver payments? Once give Great Britain the opportunity to put that silver upon us under a treaty of bimetallic legal tender by which we should deprive ourselves of any choice as between silver and gold, and we should at once relieve British manufacturers and bankers of all the difficulties which have grown out of the change of the ratio of silver to gold, taking all these difficulties upon ourselves. If any argument could be invented giving greater evidence both of audacity and imbecility I have yet to find it. The destruction of a fool is his own folly, and when the advocates of silver monometallism, at the ratio of sixteen to one, venture into this last ditch in their effort to stay the rising tide in support of sound money, they disclose both their audacity and their imbecility.

Again: The unscrupulous Jingo element of the opposition to President Cleveland have attempted to create a prejudice against his administration of the Hawaiian question by alleging that England is waiting to seize these islands. It is utterly false. No nation seeks the responsibility for taking these islands, subject to the enormous expense of arming and defending them both upon the land and upon the sea. What is needed again in this case is an agreement among the great naval powers "to avoid collision and to save expense" by neutralizing the islands and the waters adjacent thereto, giving all equal opportunity to land cables, to conduct their trade and to keep their stores of coal wherever they choose, while protecting the people of the islands in their rights.

We may regard the parcelling out of barbarous or semi-barbarous continents like Africa among the powers of Europe with perfect equanimity, and yet we may regard it as being to our great interest whenever or wherever the power and protection of the English speaking people is extended over barbarous countries. Wherever Germany and France gain a hold their effort is to keep the sole control of commerce, and so it has been with the Dutch in the Philippine Islands. Wherever England establishes her control or

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protectorate it is to the benefit of the masses of the people of that land, even though they resist the somewhat rough and tactless methods by which they themselves are benefited. The French may have tact; but they use that tact for private gain and plunder. The Englishman may lack in tact; but, in these latter days, he uses his power to establish justice in the administration of semi-civilized countries. Witness the fact that the Egyptians are no longer spoiled. For the first time in history, the fellahs in Egypt are beginning to enjoy the fruits of their own industry. Wherever England exerts her control the purchasing power of the people is increased, a demand for goods made by machinery begins, and England attempts to make no discrimination, but gives to all an equal chance to supply these wants. Contrast her policy with that of the Spaniards. Contrast the condition of her colonies with the condition of those which were under the control of Spain and Portugal. Witness the present conditions of South America as compared to any English colonies or settlements. What a boon it would be to the world if systems corresponding to English law, English administration and the English regard for personal rights, could be extended over the continent of South America.

A paramount position in that international commerce through which men and nations benefit and profit each other by serving each other's needs is passing to this country. The people of the United States constitute the only nation among the machine-using nations of the world who possess within their own limits the power of producing food, fuel, iron, steel, copper, timber and innumerable fabrics far in excess of their own wants. They are subjected to the lightest burden of national taxation as compared to any and every other machine-using nation. Holding these advantages, their products are made at the highest rates of wages in every branch of industry, except mere handicrafts, as compared to those of any other country, and yet at the lowest cost of production measured by the unit of product. There has never been a period in this country when economic questions were being so exhaustively studied by great numbers of people. Let them but turn their attention to the facts which I have given in this paper and the Jingoes among our politicians will be stamped out of political existence in company with the advocates of the debasement of our unit of value.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

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OUR ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.

SOON after our forefathers had planted their little colonies along the Atlantic Coast, their children ascended the Hudson, the Mohawk, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, and other valleys, penetrated to the Ohio, and at length invaded "the dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky, and swept along the region of the Great Lakes.

A little later they passed over the rich prairies, and to-day their descendants have transformed the treeless plains, mountain valleys and gold-fields of the Pacific Slope and of the Rocky Mountains into refined and prosperous communities. Long before the day of the Anglo-Saxon, adventurers of other races had passed lightly over much of what is now the United States. Except in a few isolated spots they left behind no enduring trace. Pressing closely in the footsteps of the hunters and trappers, the Daniel Boones of the frontier, the American has always founded homes, established schools, and organized permanent industries.

The favorable termination of the French and Indian wars, waged for more than two generations, gave the English colonists the great lake region and northwestern territory west of the Alleghanies, and put an end forever to the Frenchman's dream of empire in this quarter; the Louisiana purchase gave us a vast area in the South and West, while the Texas revolution and the war with Mexico gave us New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

What has long been called our great Western Empire may be roughly described as including the country lying from north to south between the Dominion of Canada and the republic of Mexico; and from east to west (with boundaries less definitely fixed) between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean.

It is remarkable that when the great Corsican had exhausted

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his treasure in the desolation and destruction of homes in Europe, he was willing to dispose of his vast area of territory in North America to the United States. Seventy-five million francs at that time was a great boon to the French conqueror, and one million one hundred and seventy-two thousand square miles of the productive territory of North America upon which could be built prosperous, happy homes, was a great boon for millions of free people. The treasure exchanged for the land purchased the equipment and munitions of war that carried mourning and desolation to thousands of homes in Europe. The territory received in exchange for the treasure has produced millions of homes in our own country.

President Jefferson desired a more perfect knowledge of the vast country which was acquired by what is known as the Louisiana purchase from the French government, and it was under his direction that the expedition of Lewis and Clark was projected. In 1803 an expedition under the leadership of Lewis and Clark was organized at St. Louis, to explore a route through the wilderness to the Pacific coast. Their company was composed of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers, two Canadian boatmen, an interpreter, a hunter, and a negro servant of Captain Clark.

In the spring of 1804 the villagers of St. Louis assembled on the bank of the Mississippi River to bid adieu to the fearless and hardy explorers. The history of that expedition is one of the most interesting ever written. Their first winter was spent with the Mandans in what is now North Dakota. Dragging their boats for two thousand miles up the Missouri River, and leaving them in charge of a band of savages, the Shoshone Indians, they obtained from them horses for crossing the mountains to the headwaters of the Columbia, and there made other boats and floated down the beautiful Hudson of the West to its junction with the Pacific, at the site of what is now the town of Astoria, where they spent their second winter; and in the following spring commenced their toilsome return journey to the upper Columbia, where they found their horses safely cared for by the friendly Nez Percé Indians. They continued their journey back over the mountains again to the headwaters of the Yellowstone, passing down the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, and, after two years and four months' absence, and after having been

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given up as lost, they were welcomed home by the villagers of St. Louis.

A few years later a party sent out by John Jacob Astor for the purpose of extending the fur trade, also crossed the continent, passing over a portion of the route followed by Lewis and Clark. After the discovery of gold in California, immigrant routes across the continent were established, but there still remained vast regions between these routes almost unknown up to a much later date. This is illustrated by the fact that the large and magnificent tract now known as Yellowstone Park, so full of natural wonders, was practically unknown until several years after the war. The same may be said of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado.

Much of the region under consideration had been at a comparatively early date penetrated by men of the Latin races. French traders and missionaries in small parties had from time to time entered the present States of North and South Dakota, Montana and Idaho, before the tide of Anglo-Saxon immigration set in. They made no systematic exploration, however. Their scattered trading posts, built of logs, soon rotted away; they made no effort at colonization, and except for a few picturesque missions, and French names for certain streams and localities, all trace of their presence has disappeared.

Coronado from the south ascended the Gila River early in the sixteenth century, and other Spanish adventurers, fired by the twin zeal of religion and avarice, made desultory expeditions into what are now Colorado and Utah. They erected here and there rude arrastres side by side with the cross and to some extent colonized portions of what is now New Mexico and Arizona. But the civilization planted by them languished, and in some localities even disappeared, either from inherent weakness or from the hostility of the fierce savages, rendered more formidable by the possession of fire-arms and horses.

That eminent statesman, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri, for years had urged the construction of trans-continental railway lines which he believed were destined to become "The road to India." His ability and influence did much to attract attention to the importance of establishing this great avenue of commerce and communication, and it was chiefly through him that the expeditions of the "Path-finder," Fremont, were authorized and equipped.

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John Charles Fremont was a native of Savannah, Georgia, an accomplished officer and engineer, whose romantic wooing and winning of Jessie Benton, now his widow living in Southern California, will still be remembered by those who were living at the time. Fremont's expeditions were organized with great care at the mouth of the Kansas or Kaw River, at Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas, and at various points west of St. Louis. He penetrated the central zone, passing over the Rocky, Sierra Nevada, and Cascade Mountains, and along the entire Pacific Coast, from the Columbia River to Southern California. He had with him a corps of scientists, and his discoveries were valuable contributions to the knowledge of the country. He had several encounters with hostile Indians, and was in a position to establish our right of domain at a critical time on the Pacific Coast.

In 1844 Congress authorized a survey for a trans-continental railway, and an expedition was fitted out by Fremont, at private expense, for the purpose of making those preliminary surveys. He wrote a history of his explorations which attracted great attention, not only in this country, but in Europe.

The close of the war gave a great impetus to the settlement and development of this region. The causes of this impetus are not far to seek. The discharge from military service of such large bodies of men, mostly young, vigorous, and intelligent, was also a powerful stimulus to every kind of achievement, material and intellectual. The tremendous volume of energy and ability, which had been engaged in mutual destruction, when suddenly released, found its most natural and congenial field of expansion in the West, to which many thousands of young men from both armies soon found their way. Before the war the border troubles in Kansas, and the prospect of similar trouble in other sections, while attracting perhaps a certain small class, might well deter the peaceful farmer or peasant seeking a quiet home for his family. The vexed question as to whether free or slave labor should possess the fair and virgin fields of the West, was now settled for all time. The Homestead Law gave to each settler in fee simple 160 acres of land, which to the rack-rented toiler beyond the sea must have seemed a princely estate.

Among the results of the war as connected with the West, the acquisition of Alaska, that magnificent pendant to our territorial area, is worthy of mention. The undisguised sympathy

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shown to us by Russia, aggravated the strained relations already existing between her and Great Britain, while drawing more closely the bonds of friendship between her and the United States. Soon after the war, rather than endanger these friendly relations by the complications that seemed likely to arise from the presence in Alaskan waters of our whalers and fishermen, and perhaps willing also to perform an act showing her independence of Great Britain, Russia departed from her traditional policy and sold the territory to our government for $7,200,000. Within a few years after the purchase considerable American capital and several thousands of our citizens were engaged in the mines and fisheries of that territory.

The construction of the trans-continental railways was inaugurated during the war for political reasons. At one time there was apprehension lest California and the Pacific Coast should secede from the Union. California, particularly in the southern portion, was largely settled and dominated by men of Southern birth and sentiment, and in 1861 great sympathy was manifested there with the secession movement. California was, in fact, seriously in danger of being lost to the Union cause, and was saved largely by the efforts and eloquence of Senators Baker and MacDougal, the Rev. Starr King, Leland Stanford, and their compatriots, and by the timely action of the Government in sending General E. V. Sumner in 1861 to command the Union forces on the Pacific Coast. The danger that the communities of the Pacific Slope, so far from the population of the East, and separated from it by a vast tract of wilderness, should become alienated from the Union, was plainly seen by the statesmen of that day, and the building of the first trans-continental line was expedited in order to establish connection between the Pacific States and the Eastern portion of the Republic.

Since the war powerful states have sprung into existence; practically six lines of trans-continental railway have been built, inseparably linking the Pacific States to their sisters of the East; resources hitherto undreamed of have been discovered; and a volume of development, marvellous and bewildering to contemplate, has been crowded into a quarter of a century, making this the brightest period of our history.

NELSON A. MILES.

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INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH.

BY THE HON. W. C. OATES, GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA.

OMITTING statistics, which often weary rather than instruct the reader, I will endeavor to interest him by giving a brief summary of what is going on in Alabama at present as a typical Southern state.

The first consideration looking to industrial development in any country is what advantages it has of climate, soil and fertility; the second is what natural resources it has to develop, and the third is the accessibility to markets. The answer to the last proposition may be briefly stated. Navigable streams are abundant throughout the Southern states, and the railroads are so numerous that the travel and traffic in some places scarcely support them. They have been built in anticipation of a more rapid development of the country than has taken place. Railroads will penetrate every neighborhood which has business enough to pay the road to come for it. The more important problem for the producer to solve in respect to transportation is how to reduce the cost so as to enable him to realize a reasonable profit on his product. This is frequently difficult because the railroad or other carrier must also realize a profit on its business. But as soon as the abundance of products enables the carrier to realize fair profits in the aggregate from small freight charges the problem is solved.

The financial panic which began in the latter part of 1892, and continued through the greater part of the two succeeding years, suspended three-fourths of the great industries of the State, especially in the mineral section. It broke banks and business houses formerly in good repute. Mines and factories which withstood the financial storm ran on short time and reduced wages, which caused strikes among the laborers and resulted in a

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further loss of employment. There was general depression in business. The products of toil commanded very low prices. No demand; no price. Those who possessed money had no confidence in any securities or any investments open to them. Values of all kinds of property shrank until it became unsaleable at any price. In the boom towns those who were rich in 1891–2 saw their fortunes wither and dry up. The farmer had plenty to eat, but no money with which to buy luxuries or to pay his debts.

Strong men, in many cases, begged for employment and could not obtain it. At the poor wife and hungry children want stared and grinned like a gaunt spectre which prided itself in tantalizing the unfortunate suffering innocents. But the generous-hearted dispensed charities, and suffering was partially relieved. There was no money, or but little, in circulation. Everything seemed flat, stale and unprofitable. The people believed that the trouble was chargeable to our financial system. They demanded more money—greenbacks and the free coinage of silver; anything for relief from the hard conditions. But how changed is the country now! It is not so prosperous nor is money so plentiful as I would like to see; but there is a wonderful revival of business.

The corn crop never was surpassed in the Southern states. All observers know *that* surely betokens plenty of "hog and hominy," facilitates stock raising and places the people of all classes above want in the way of a plain subsistence. The crops of small grain have yielded fairly well. Melons, peaches, pears, grapes, berries and garden vegetables of every variety have been most abundant and of excellent maturity and sweetness. As an illustration, a gentleman informed me that from one acre of grapes this year he had sold $100 worth of the fruit and made two barrels of wine.

The great staple crop—cotton—was injured in some states by too much rain. It is essentially a sun plant, but a fair crop is matured and two-thirds gathered. A less acreage was planted than last year, and a less amount of commercial fertilizer was used on this year's crop than on that of last year because the prices of cotton ruled so low last year that it admonished the prudent farmer to make cotton his surplus crop and to produce that, if possible, at a less cost than formerly. These causes surely make the crop of this year two and a half million bales less than that of last year.

This will, however, make but little difference to the farmer,

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who is not in debt, and that difference will be in his favor. A shorter crop insures higher prices and brings him more money in the aggregate for a crop which cost him less to produce than that of last year. It is better for him. The condition of the southern farmer has greatly improved, and is well calculated to bring to him contentment and happiness. Low prices for cotton hurt none of them except such as are in debt, and are being eaten up by interest running against them. They want to realize the greatest number of dollars for their toil—any kind of dollars which will pay their debts. An understanding of the whole financial question consists mainly in a proper understanding of interest. But the number of Southern farmers, who are hopelessly in debt, is greatly diminishing, and the present good prices for cotton will bring them out.

The southern tier of counties in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia have extensive forests of yellow pine. The same may be said of West Florida. The lumber industry in these, which has been partially suspended for the last two years, is now fairly active. Turpentine orchards, distilleries and saw mills abound. They employ thousands of laborers at fair wages. The lands are light gray sandy loam and when denuded of the timber are settled and cultivated in small farms. With moderate fertilization they produce cotton, corn, oats, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, tobacco, melons and a great variety of vegetables in paying quantities.

The next tier of counties running through these States just above the first named from west to east is called "The Black Belt" not so much because a large percentage of the population is black, perhaps, as because the soil is dark, stiff and very productive. These lands were held principally by slave owners prior to the war, were splendidly cultivated and yielded great profits. The large plantations are now being cut up into smaller farms and the numerous steam cotton ginneries, pickeries, compresses and cotton seed-oil mills, to say nothing of the new cotton factories and villages formed around them, indicate that the people are appreciating their natural advantages and turning them to good account. Every man without regard to his color who is willing to labor finds ready employment at living wages.

The next or third tier of counties, adjoining on the north those last named, and embracing about one-third of the territory

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of the State, is hilly and mountainous. It is known as the Mineral Belt. In the valleys are many fertile and beautiful small farms and happy homes. Within this section are vast coal fields, iron ore and a very considerable quantity of marble, limestone and other valuable minerals. Gold has long been known to exist but not yet discovered in paying quantities. Aluminum, mica, topaz and diopside are found in some of these counties.

A large number of iron furnaces, pipe works, rolling mills, box-car and car-wheel factories are within this belt.

Where, during the panic, mines were closed, furnaces smokeless, mills and factories noiseless, now the mines are putting out every ton of coal possible, the factories, mills and foundries give forth the hum of engines, wheels and hammers; the glare of acres of coke ovens and the furnaces light up the country for miles around, both day and night, while their tall chimneys with their splendid plumes of black smoke ascending heavenward proclaim to the world that there are thousands of busy men there and no enforced idleness. The increased demand for coal, pig iron, cotton and other products at remunerative prices has resuscitated dead enterprises, stimulated this activity in business and has enabled employers to increase the wages of their employees. Thus it proves a blessing not only to invested capital but makes the homes of thousands of laborers happy and attractive.

The mines, furnaces, mills, foundries and factories, with but few exceptions, at Birmingham, Anniston, Talladega, Sheffield, Florence, Gadsden, Jasper, and in Bibb, Shelby and DeKalb counties, are now in active operation. The natural resources are exhaustless. On one side of Birmingham there is a mountain of iron ore over fifty miles long, on the other side a vast field of coal, and nearby another mountain of limestone for fluxing. Thus Nature placed there in touch with each other all the materials for the manufacture of pig iron, without limit, cheaper than it can be done anywhere else in the world. There are three coalfields in Alabama, the Warrior, the Cahaba, and the Coosa, which together contain coal enough to supply the entire world, at the present rate of consumption, for a period of 150 years. Accurate surveys, made by competent geologists, demonstrate that the amount is even greater than this estimate.

The success of one more experiment, which is under way at Birmingham and Bessemer, will develop an indescribable mine of

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wealth, that is, the manufacture of steel from the pig iron made there. Many tons of the pig iron have recently been shipped to Pittsburg, Pa., for experiment, and the report is that it makes a good quality of steel. The greatest profit is always realized from the finished product.

The Tennessee Coal and Iron Company is perhaps the largest corporation engaged as its name indicates. It did not close operations during the panic, but its stock ran down in the market to a merely nominal figure. Now it is quoted at 46 cents in the dollar. It employs 4,000 men, and does an immense business. The Sloss Company also survived. It owns several furnaces and the coal mine at Coalburgh, and does a large and fairly profitable business. There are many smaller enterprises of similar character in that vicinity.

At Anniston, before and during the war, there was one iron furnace, known as the Woodstock furnace. Now there are two new ones and two more on the same vein of ore in the neighborhood of Talladega. A first-class quality of charcoal iron is made at Anniston and, during the war, when the ports of the Confederate government were blockaded so that we could not obtain guns from abroad of any description, this iron was shipped by rail to the foundry and gun shops at Selma on the Alabama River, and cast into cannon.

In addition to the furnaces, there is at this town a factory of box-cars and car-wheels, rolling-mills and a cotton factory which ships its goods in unbroken packages to China. There are also extensive pipe works there, which recently underbid all competitors, and obtained a contract to supply a large amount of pipe to Tokio, Japan. Business generally, after an almost entire suspension, is rapidly regaining its former activity.

Gadsden, in Etowa County, several miles further north, is a central point with many industries which were shut down during the panic, every one of them, until about the beginning of the present year. Since that date there has been located there a cotton mill of 30,000 spindles, at a cost of over a half million dollars, and will be in full operation within a few days.

The Southern Manufacturing Company, started last February, is running full time, and has more orders on hand than it can fill in six months. The Long Leaf Pine Lumber Company's mills are busy.

The Kyle Lumber Company's mills, with a capacity of 40,000

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feet per day, have all the work they can do. The bottling establishment is busy. The Weller pipe works, which have been idle for two years, have just gone into operation again. This year a furniture factory has been established which now has travelling agents in several states selling its products. The old suspended iron furnace has been bought by a solvent company, and its capacity is being increased to two hundred tons, and is now about being put in blast.

The Elliott Car and Car Wheel Manufacturing Company is now running full time with a force of 300 hands, and has about as many orders as can be filled with the present force in two years.

Arrangements are in progress to reopen and to begin operations of the Crudup ore mines with upwards of 300 miners. Other industries of a smaller character are projected.

To the West of Birmingham is Jasper in Walker County. It is surrounded by coal mines and other important industries which are now revivified and active.

The fourth tier of counties in Alabama, eight in number, are properly called the Tennessee Valley, as they lie along the river of that name. The country is picturesque and beautiful, its soil very fertile and produces nearly everything grown in the South. Jackson County has but little manufacturing but is a very attractive agricultural section. Huntsville, in Madison County, is the largest town in the valley. It has a large and profitable cotton factory and other important industries. Florence, in the northwestern corner county of the State, is beautifully situated and has within it several industries worthy of note. These were paralyzed by the panic like the others already mentioned. There is a spathite furnace well adapted to the production of spathite iron which has gained quite a reputation with foundry men on account of its fluidity, which is equal to the best of that class produced in Scotland.

The Philadelphia furnace which cost about $250,000 will go into blast within a few days.

The Pump and Lumber Company, whose plant cost but $30,000, employs eighty operatives within, and 200 lumbermen outside, obtaining material, etc , and the finished product is 5,000 pumps and 3,000 veranda columns, a large quantity of moulding and other building supplies per month. The company pays good wages and realizes a handsome net profit.

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The wagon factory, with an invested capital of $100,000, gives employment to about 125 laborers, and turns out 140 to 150 wagons per week, for which a ready market is found.

A cotton factory, a small stove factory, a hoop factory, planing mills and grist mills are in active operation and paying fairly well.

Sheffield, just across the river from Florence, was a boom town which the panic killed, but phœnix-like it is rising from its own ashes. Its furnaces and great industries are reviving and breathing new life. There is a great future for this beautifully located town. Tuscumbia on the south and Florence on the north within two or three miles of it are its rivals for business.

Decatur is another boom town whose growth was stopped by the panic. The limits of old Decatur were too contracted when the boom struck it, and hence New Decatur was laid out and partially built up. All the manufacturing enterprises went down before the financial gale. The shops of that great line of enterprising, thrifty and well-managed railway, the Louisville and Nashville, was about the only survivor. But what is the present condition? The box car manufacturing plant, which cost a half million dollars, is still closed and silent; but the car-wheel factory near by has resumed operations with a full force and is doing well. The Southern chair works is a small but important and prosperous industry.

The oak extract factory, a new industry, is turning out 160 barrels per day of tanning which is shipped to several different parts of the country. The same company is erecting in close proximity an extensive tannery with capacity for tanning 200 hides per day.

Near the same locality parties are projecting the erection at an early day of a starch factory, the plant to cost one million dollars. This will furnish a market for part of the surplus crops of corn and potatoes produced in that neighborhood. No country surpasses Alabama in the production of the sweet potato which contains more starch than the Irish potato, and hence is more desirable for the starch factory.

Cullman on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, south of Morgan, the county in which Decatur is, was supposed to have such a poor soil as to be worthless for agricultural purposes. John J. Cullman brought a colony of his countrymen—Germans—there after the war, and settled them in the woods. They

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had to build their homes and clear up the lands. To-day that county is filled with beautiful little farms, and thrifty industrious farmers. Within the county more grapes are grown, and more and better wine made from them, than in any other county in this State.

Opelika, Union Springs, Eufaula, Columbia, Tallassee, Prattville, Selma, Tuscaloosa and many other places within the State have cotton factories and other paying industries.

At Montgomery, the historic and beautiful capital city, there are half a hundred manufacturing enterprises, great and small, in operation, and no person who wishes to earn his living by honest toil need beg, but can find remunerative employment.

At perhaps one hundred towns in the State the hum of the spindles and the clangor of the looms of the cotton factories will be heard by the close of the present year. They pay from six to ten per cent. dividends and diversify our industries. When we equal New England mills in the production of the finely finished product the dividends will be more than doubled.

Mobile, a lovely city of most hospitable people, is our only seaport and is destined to become the mistress of the Gulf. Her channel has been improved until vessels drawing 24 feet 10 inches of water can enter and depart at high tide. When the locks and dams on the Warrior River are completed coal can be delivered on board ships in the harbor for two dollars per ton or less. When the Nicaragua Canal is completed, as it surely will be, Mobile will become the great entrepôt for all shipments from as far north as Chicago to China and Japan and for a good portion of those for the California Coast. There is not a coast town in the Southern States which to-day has such a splendid commercial future as Mobile.

The frequency of elections gives the people incessant political fermentation, because ambitious men are always "laying their pipes" and maturing schemes for some preferment next year or the year after. An election once in three or four years would be better for the people. The only live political question now for the politicians to discuss is the free coinage of silver. There are many good honest people in the South who believe that the free and unlimited coinage of silver would do more to restore prosperity to the country than anything else. The politicians have so taught them.

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Aspirants for office are discussing it pro and con. The people go out and hear the speeches and read the newspapers, and many of them are confused and undecided on account of the great difference of opinion among speakers, writers, and trusted party leaders. They want plenty of good, honest money to do the business of the country. They don't care what the standard is, so long as parity is maintained, and the gold, silver, and paper dollar possess equal purchasing and debt-paying power. With this state or condition of the money of the country, if the people can have prosperous times, they are content. Free and unlimited coinage of silver would not place an additional dollar in the pockets of him who has no silver bullion to coin. If a mill grinds grain free of toll for all comers it will not give any flour or meal to him who has no grain to take to the mill. No one in the Southern states owns any silver bullion. There is no silver mine within them. How then would free and unlimited coinage put any more money into circulation there? If it would cause a great quantity of silver to be coined at the present ratio it would drive gold out of circulation, in accordance with Gresham's universal law. It would thereby destroy parity and force our metallic dollars to part company and gold to go to a premium.

Our Southern people, with few exceptions, are not "gold bugs" nor "silverloons," but true bimetallists. They want all the silver that can be kept on a parity with gold, which the administration is struggling to do by means which the President believes best calculated to accomplish it.

The people, from a careful study of the question, are beginning to doubt and grow distrustful of the experiment of free coinage of silver lest it may, if adopted, beget another panic, or so impair confidence as to roll back the tide of prosperity which is now setting so beautifully towards them.

They are now beginning to lave in its placid and refreshing waters. Let the tide rise which, "taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

WM. C. OATES.

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THE GIRLHOOD OF AN ACTRESS.*

BY MARY ANDERSON DE NAVARRO.

THE second child of a large family, my mother was brought up according to the most rigorous principles. Her thoughts were hardly her own; her literature was chosen for her, consisting of the *Lives of the Saints* and other pious books; while plays, dances, and the amusements generally permitted to the young, were strictly forbidden, and practically unknown to her. My excellent grandparents, though Roman Catholics, had been educated to believe that the natural tendencies of the theatre were "downward and pernicious," and their children in turn were not allowed even to think of entering such a place. However, by the aid of her eldest and favorite brother, his pardonable dissimulation, and a friendly latch-key, my mother was, at the age of seventeen, smuggled into one of those "dens of iniquity" for the first time. She was carried away by the talent and great beauty of Mrs. D. P. Bowers, and by the charm surrounding that interesting, though sensational and old-fashioned play, "The Sea of Ice."

It was probably this breath of romance that caused her to grow more and more restive under the strict discipline of her home life. At any rate, it was soon after her first visit to the theatre that she found a way of meeting, and losing her heart to, Charles H. Anderson, a young man of English birth, who had just finished his education at Oxford. Clever, scholarly, charming in presence and manner, devoted to sport, a passionate lover of the drama and all things artistic, he was the very man to win the admiration of a girl whose life had been as narrow and fettered as hers. With all his graces and accomplishments, he was, unfor-

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tunately, not religious, and his proposal for my mother's hand was met by a stern refusal from her parents. They were especially opposed to the marriage of their daughter with a man devoid of faith. My mother was therefore forbidden to see him again, though from a worldly point of view her lover had everything in his favor. For some months a secret correspondence was carried on between them. Wearying, however, of continued separation, and aided again by the favorite brother, they eloped and were clandestinely married. The young couple, after a year's sojourn in New York and Philadelphia, wended their way westward in 1859, only a few weeks before my birth.

We left Sacramento when I was still a child in arms, my mother wishing to be near her uncle, who was pastor of a small German congregation near Louisville, Ky. Her parents had not forgiven her for marrying against their wishes, and she felt the need of a friend during the frequent absences of my father in England. We took up our abode in Louisville in 1860.

New California was situated just outside of Louisville, and here "Pater Anton," as my uncle was called, had long been a great favorite. On his feast-day it was delightful to see his congregation in their "Sunday clothes," bringing their children for his blessing, the little creatures in bright-colored German frocks, laden with flowers, fruits, eggs, home-knitted socks, cotton handkerchiefs of the brightest red and yellow, cooing pigeons, quacking ducks, chickens, while a pig or two (from the richer parishioners) invariably joined in the general chorus of holiday-makers. Pater Anton was the gayest of them all, for though a man of great learning, an accomplished linguist, a fine musician, and an eloquent preacher, he was simpler than the simplest of his flock. His appearance was so striking that passers-by turned to look at him in the street. He was tall, with an habitual stoop. His features were finely chiselled, and his straight black hair, worn long, was cut like Liszt's. He had the most beautiful mouth and teeth I have ever seen, the sweetest smile, and the heartiest laugh in the world. My mother could not have chosen a better friend for herself or for her children.

"*Dans nos souvenirs la mort touche la naissance.*" My father died when I was but three years of age, and within a few months of the birth of my brother. He died at Mobile at the age of twenty-four, in the full flush of his youth, "extinguished, not

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decayed." I remember nothing of his voice, look, or manner; nor have we any portrait of him now remaining.

Pater Anton ("Nonie," as I called him, "uncle" being an impossible word for me then) often came to cheer our little family. I can see him still, on his fat old lazy horse, trotting up the street, his long hair waving in the wind, his face shining with pleasure, his rusty coat, shining also (with age, for he thought it worldly to have more than one new coat in eight years), while from his large pockets, dolls, trumpets, jumping-jacks, and other ravishing toys stuck out in every direction. What a picture he was of kindness and child-like gaiety, and how we hailed him with cries of joy and clapping of hands!

My brother and I were frequently allowed to go to New California to visit Nonie. The bright little town, with its houses painted blue, red, pink and white, with meadows and pastures intersecting them, looked more like a toy town than a "real live one." Now, alas! all the quaint prettiness has vanished; large factories, ugly breweries and brickyards disfigure it. The church, the priest's house, and the school of the old time, alone remain. We always spent the great feast-days there. Especially do I remember Corpus Christi. On that day, the pasture near the church seemed to my childish eyes like an enchanted scene. Many altars were erected there, covered with lace, flowers and lighted candles. The village band played festal music, and was answered by the distant notes of the organ and choir from the little church. Three times the beautiful procession filed around the pasture. Preceded by small girls in white, scattering rose-leaves, and acolytes swinging their silver censers, came Pater Anton carrying the monstrance. Kneeling in the grass, we sent up fervent prayers, the warm summer sun shining like a benediction over all.

Nonie began to teach me the organ. He wished to train my brother and me for the lives he and my mother had mapped out for us. My brother was to study medicine and help him generally (Nonie was an excellent physician, and could soothe the bodily as well as the spiritual ills of his flock), while I was destined to care for his small household, tend the parish poor, train the choir, and play the organ on Sundays and holidays. But man proposes and God disposes.

About that time, after remaining a widow for five years,

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my mother was married to Dr. Hamilton Griffin, of Louisville, a surgeon and major in the Southern army, who had gone through the entire war, having been wounded severely on two occasions. I was then eight years old, and it was thought necessary to begin my general education. They took me to the Convent of the Ursulines, near Louisville, and left me there. Who that has ever suffered it can forget the first great homesickness? I remember distinctly my utter misery when the grated door closed upon the mother and brother from whom I had never before been separated. The convent was a large Italian-looking building, surrounded by gardens, and shut in by high prison-like walls. That first night in the long dormitory, with its rows of white beds and their little occupants, some as sad as myself, my grief seemed more than I could bear. The moon made a track of light across the floor. A strain of soft music came in at the open window; it was only an accordion, played by some one sitting outside the convent wall, but how sweet and soothing it was! The simple little melody seemed to say: "See what a friend I can be! I am Music, sent from Heaven to cheer and console. Love me, and I will soothe and calm your heart when it is sad, and double all your joys." It kept saying such sweet things to me that soon I fell asleep and dreamed I was at home again. From that night I felt music to be a panacea for all my childhood's sorrows.

Owing to an indolent nature and an impatient dislike for the beginnings of things, I learned little besides music and a smattering of German, which was promptly forgotten. Thinking only of amusement, I had, with wicked forethought, begged my indulgent mother to provide my school uniform with spacious pockets. These were secretly filled with wee china dolls, bits of stuff and sewing implements, with which I made entire trousseaux for the charming dollies during the study hours, and, when the unsuspicious nun was not looking, kept the girls in a constant titter by dancing the dolls upon my desk as each new dress was donned. Our convent uniform consisted of a plain blue cashmere skirt and bodice, and a large straw scoop-bonnet, with a curtain at the back. In this most unpicturesque costume we were marched to church on Sunday, two and two, where my enthusiastic singing of the litany generally put the others out, and where, to the horror of the nuns, in my haste to leave the church, I invariably genuflected with my

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back to the altar. The first year went by quite uneventfully, until the end of the term, which was celebrated, as usual, by an "exhibition," as they called the songs and recitations given by the children. An *exhibition* it was! The nuns, knowing that my mother would dress me tastefully for the occasion, put me in the front row of the opening chorus—an appropriate one, for it began with:

"My grandfather had some very fine geese,
Some very fine geese had he,
With a quack quack here, and a quack quack there,
And a here quack, there quack, here, there quack,
Oh, come along girls, to the merry green fields,
To the merry green fields so gay!"

This artistically poetic and musical gem contained verses enough to name all the animals possessed by that unfortunate grandfather. The long rehearsals over, the all-important afternoon arrived. I daresay that even at La Scala, on a first night, there never had been more flutter and nervous excitement than on our little stage. The house was crowded with anxious mothers, sisters, cousins and aunts—the male members of the respective families having been wise enough to stop away. At last the curtain rose. My poor mother was horrified to see me disgracing my prominent position by standing more awkwardly than any of the others, my pretty frock already disarranged, and my hands spread so conspicuously over my chest, that, in her eyes, they soon became the most prominent part of the scene. Losing the tune, I suddenly stopped, and foolishly began to giggle. My mother overheard some one remark, "What a funny awkward little girl!" Others laughed outright. The performance over, I felt very like a great heroine, and took my "consolation prize" (what an excellent institution it is!) as though it had been some well-earned laurel; only, I could not quite understand my mother's crestfallen look. That was my "first appearance upon any stage!"

During the following term the convent was stricken with a contagious fever, and I was taken away from its friendly shelter just as I had begun to love it. The serious illness that ensued was made almost pleasant by my mother's care, the companionship of that best of friends, my brother Joe (to whom, alas, I gave, with unconscious liberality, all the ills my flesh was heir

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to), and by the frequent visits of our Nonie, who often improvised, or played from some favorite master, on the organ below, thus cheering my convalescence, and making the names of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven familiar to me long before I had ever heard the magic one of Shakespeare. A year of idleness followed this illness, greatly relished then, but later, when the irrevocable flight of valuable time was realized, deeply regretted. De Quincey says that by deducting time for eating, sleeping, exercise, bathing, illness, and so forth, a person of three score and ten has only eleven and a half years left for the development of what is most august in our nature. When study was recommenced, it was at a day school, the Presentation Academy. There, with accustomed indolence, I learned nothing, with the exception of reading, in which I was generally head of the class. Every day I was sent to school with a shining morning face, a fresh frock, and a tidy blue ribbon to bind my obstreperous locks. Every evening I returned home with the frock ink-stained and torn, the pretty ribbon lost, and looking about the head and hands a veritable "Strubelpëter." I was punished continually for not knowing my lessons—made to stand in a corner balancing a book upon my head, or sit on the dunce stool, which, fortunately for me, was softly cushioned. "I love sitting here," said I to Sister du Chantal—who was fond of me in spite of my mischievousness, and who always administered necessary punishment in a kindly way — "for I am nearer to you, can see the girls better, and this seat is so much more comfortable than those hard benches." Doctor Griffin's brother, Guilderoy—always a favorite with me—lived near us in those days. My brother and I were taken at his request to his charming parties, whenever any person of interest graced them. It was on one of these occasions that I saw George D. Prentice for the first time. Celebrated as a poet and wit, his caustic remarks in the journal he edited made him the object of as much fear as admiration. Having been told that Mr. Prentice was a great man, that he was not to be talked to or stared at, my terror may be imagined when he took me on his knee; for, though his heart was kind, his face, doubtless from having had many hard fights with the world, wore a stern, forbidding look, and was deeply furrowed with careworn lines. His manner was gruff, and his hands, I noticed, were soiled and ink-stained. After trotting me on his knee until I

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was "distilled almost to jelly" with fear, he took me across the room to ask questions and receive answers from that uncanny little machine, La Planchette, in which he was greatly interested. The result of that meeting was a frightful nightmare, in which Mr. Prentice, with his gaunt figure, thin grey locks, and Mephistophelian brows, appeared as a magician, and La Planchette as a small grinning devil under his spell.

It was my desire to be always good and obedient, but, like "Cousin Phœnix's legs," my excellent intentions generally carried me in the opposite direction. On seeing a minstrel show for the first time I was fired with a desire to reproduce it. After a week of secret plotting with Joe, I invited Dr. Griffin and my mother to a performance of the nature of which they were utterly ignorant. It took place in our front parlor, the audience sitting in the back room. When the folding doors were thrown open, my baby sister and I were discovered as "end men." She was but eight months old and tied to a chair. Our two small brothers sat between us, and we were all as black as burnt cork, well rubbed in by my managerial hands, could make us. Blissfully ignorant of my mother's mute consternation, I gaily began the opening chorus :

"Good-bye, John ! Don't stay long !
Come back soon to your own chickabiddy."

The scene that ensued I need not describe. After being punished for some such naughtiness, I usually wended my way to the attic, that being the most gloomy part of the house, where, indulging my misery to the full, I would imagine myself dead, and revengefully revel in the thought of my mother's repentant grief over my coffin. On seeing my tear-stained face, she generally gave me a dime to soothe my wounded feelings, which it invariably did as soon as I could reach an "ice-cream saloon," and there invest in a saucer of "child's delight."

At that time, my brother and I had two farms in the hills of Indiana. Twice a year we crossed the beautiful Ohio to visit them. There we found some excellent horses, and it was not long before I learned to catch one in the paddock and mount and ride without saddle or bridle.

Years after, in London, a well-known riding-master said to me, "Why, Miss Handerson, you 'ave missed your vocation. What a hexcellent circus hactor you would 'ave made ! I'd like

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to see the 'orse as could throw you now." My early training without stirrups, often without saddle or bridle, had taught me how to sit firmly.

At the age of twelve I first heard the name of him who was to awaken the serious side of my nature, and eventually shape my later career. One night Dr. Griffin, who had in his youth prided himself on his acting as an amateur, took down from the book-shelf, a large, well-worn, red and gold volume.

"This," he said, "contains all the plays of William Shakespeare, and I mean to read to you the great master's masterpiece, 'Hamlet.'" Though I understood nothing of the subtle thought and beauty of the tragedy, the mere story, characters, and above all that wonderful though nameless atmosphere that pervades all of Shakespeare's dramatic works, delighted and thrilled me. For days I could think of nothing but the pale face and inky cloak of the melancholy prince. The old red volume had suddenly become like a casket filled with jewels, whose flames and flashes I thought might glorify a life. I often stopped to look at it with longing eyes, and one day could not resist climbing up to take it from its shelf. From that time most of my play hours were spent poring over it.

One night, not long after, the family were surprised to see me enter the parlor, enveloped in one of Dr. Griffin's army cloaks. I was scowling tragically, and at once began the speech:

> "Angels and ministers of grace, defend us!
> Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damned,"

my version being,

> "Angels and *minstrels* of grace, defend us!
> Be thou a spirit of health *or goblin's dame.*"

The latter innovation was made to evade having on my conscience so sinful a "swear" as *damned.* Those present, seeing the drift of my entrance, burst into laughter at the droll little figure with its much bepowdered face. Feeling this to be disrespectful, I indignantly quitted the room, falling over the cumbersome cloak in what was meant to be a majestic exit. Certainly a very unpromising first appearance in the bard's great masterpiece!

The first play I ever saw was "Richard the Third," with Edwin Adams as the crook-backed tyrant. Young, graceful, handsome, an ideal actor in romantic characters, he was hardly fitted for so sombre and tragic a part. Yet the force of his per-

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sonal magnetism stamped his every word, look, and gesture indelibly upon my memory. The music and lights, the actors and actresses, whose painted faces seemed far more perfect to me then—I was but twelve years old—than anything in nature; luckless *Anne, Henry the Sixth,* who, though he is an interloper in the play, makes, through Cibber's daring, a splendidly effective acting scene; the royal army, consisting of six "scrawny" knock-kneed supers, with a very unmilitary look about them—all are as clear before me now as though I had seen them yesterday. How we always remember the first dip into a new sensation; after-impressions of things a hundredfold greater are blotted from our minds!

My mother, seeing my delight in the play, promised that, if we deserved it, my brother and I should occasionally attend the weekly matinées. With such a reward as two theatre tickets in view, any amount of good conduct was cheap in payment. I became less mischievous and forgetful.

We were blest with but little of this world's goods at the time, and, my help in the household being needed, I was taught the culinary art. In a few months I could cook an excellent dinner when called upon. I remember sitting by the stove with a basting spoon (to be used on a turkey) in one hand, and Charles Reade's "Put Yourself in His Place" in the other. "The Winter's Tale," "Julius Cæsar," and "Richard the Third" were also read as I sat by the kitchen fire baking bread. The theory that it is impossible to do two things at once did not appeal to me. I felt certain that no one could enjoy the poet's inspiration more than I, and at the same time turn out a better loaf. Thankful I have always been for the knowledge of these useful arts—which I think every girl should master—as they are wholesome both for mind and body.

When the longed-for Saturday came, little Joe and I would start for the old Louisville Theatre, then on the corner of Fourth and Green streets, quite two hours before the doors were opened. The man in the lobby, observing my singular keenness, soon allowed us, early as it was, to enter, though he was compelled to lock the door after us. We would then sit alone in the large dimly-lighted theatre, feeling the most privileged of mortals, silently watching the great green curtain, and imagining all the enchantments it concealed. To leave the Temple of Enchant-

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ment and come back to commonplace realities was our only sadness. Fairy plays, melodramas, and minstrel shows formed our regular *menu*.

An announcement that Edwin Booth was to visit Louisville filled its playgoers with delightful anticipations. Times were hard, we were poor, and many sacrifices had to be made to enable us to witness a few of his performances. "Richelieu" was the first of the series. What a revelation it was! I had never seen any great acting before, and it proved a turning point in my life. The subtle cunning with which the artist invested the earlier parts of the play was as irresistible as the power, fire, and pathos of the later scenes were terrible and electrifying. It was impossible to think of him as an actor. He was *Richelieu*. I felt for the first time that acting was not merely a delightful amusement but a serious art that might be used for high ends. After that brilliant performance sleep was impossible. On returning home I sat at the window of my little room until morning. The night passed like an hour. Before the dawn I had mapped out a stage career for myself. Thus far, having had no fixed aim of my own making or liking, I had frittered my time away. Then I realized that my idle life must end, and that much study and severe training would have to be undertaken: this in secret, however, for there was no one to go to for sympathy, help or advice in such a venture. Indignant that all my people had, in times gone by, looked upon so noble an art as harmful, if not sinful, I felt no prick of conscience in determining to work out clandestinely what seemed to me then my life's mission. I was fourteen years of age, inexperienced and uneducated, but I had not a moment of doubt or fear. Mr. Booth's other performances intensified my admiration for his art,* and strengthened me in my resolution. Who can ever forget his *Hamlet*? Where shall we find another such *Iago, Richard, Macbeth, Shylock?* Surely,

> "He was the Jew
> That Shakespeare drew."

Would not Macklin himself have given him the palm for his portrayal of that great character? I am proud to owe my awakening to the possibilities of dramatic art to such a master.

* That admirable woman and artist, Helen Faucit (Lady Martin), once told me that, since Macready, few actors had approached Mr. Booth in intellectuality, perfect elocution, grace, personal magnetism, or the power of complete identification with his characters. It was a great pride to me, an American, that this gifted and severely critical Englishwoman appreciated so unstintedly our beloved actor.

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His engagement over, I made a proposition to my mother, a promise rather, that I would apply myself earnestly to study, if allowed to work at home, school having grown unbearable; I agreed that, if at the end of a month she saw no improvement, I would willingly return to the Academy. After much consideration, she determined to give this new arrangement a trial, the old one having been far from successful. I selected for my study a small white-washed carpetless room at the top of the house, where no one was likely to intrude; its only furniture a table and chair, a crucifix, a bust of Shakespeare, a small photograph of Edwin Booth, and a pair of foils, which I had learned to use with some skill. Bronson, Comstock, and Murdock on Elocution, Rush on the Voice, Plutarch's Lives, Homer's Iliad, and the beloved red and gold volume of Shakespeare, were my only books; and these had been stolen by degrees from the library below. After many years in more luxurious apartments, how often have I longed for that fresh, sunshiny little den!

A few years before, I had had an attack of malignant diphtheria, which would have proved fatal but for a successful operation Nonie had been bold enough to perform. The attack left my throat very weak. Realizing that a far-reaching voice was one of the actor's most essential instruments, my first effort, on beginning work, was to strengthen mine. In Comstock there were certain instructions upon breathing which I promptly made use of. Strange it is, but very few of us know how to breathe properly. The simple method of taking a deep full breath through the nose, without strain, holding it as long as possible and slowly exhaling it through the mouth, never going through the exercise more than twelve times consecutively, and always in the open air, not only freshens one, like a dip in the sea, but, when followed by certain vocal exercises, gives control over the voice, which it strengthens and makes melodious. At the end of six months my voice was hardly recognizable, it had become so much fuller and stronger. Here was a great difficulty overcome. As a voice that can be heard is the alpha of the actor, grace is one of the requisites next in importance. Tall for my age, I was conscious of being extremely awkward. This defect was not so easily remedied, and for years, in spite of constant efforts to conquer it, remained one of my great drawbacks.

The parts of *Richard the Third*, *Richelieu*, *Pauline*, and

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Schiller's *Joan of Arc* were memorized and studied in detail. Schoolroom lessons were also worked at with such good-will that in one month I had made more progress than during six at school. So satisfactory was the new system that it was allowed to continue. The real cause of this improvement no one guessed. My secret, however, consumed me. I longed to tell someone of my plans for the future, and above all to show how I could read and act, for as yet I had no proof that I was working in the right direction.

In the South most of the servants were negroes. Among ours was a little mulatto girl ("nut-brown maid," she called herself), whose chief attraction to me was her enthusiasm for the theatre. One night in desperation I went to her while she was washing dishes in the kitchen, and there unfolded all my hopes. It was to her I first acted, and it was she who gave me my first applause. The clapping of those soapy, steaming hands seemed to me a veritable triumph. Believing that a tragic manner alone would sufficiently impress the situation on the "nut-brown maid," I began with a hollow voice and much furrowing of the brow: "Juli, wilt thou follow and assist me when I quit my childhood's home to walk in the path of Siddons, Kemble, and Booth?" "Oh, Miss Manie, you kin count on dis pusson, fo' de Lor' you kin! Why, my stars, what a boss actor you is! But you mus' 'low me to call your maw;" and in a trice she was gone. A few moments later she re-entered the kitchen with my mother, who was greatly surprised by my performance in the fourth act of "The Lady of Lyons," which could not have been acted in a more appropriate part of the house. She in turn called the critic of the family, Dr. Griffin, who likewise was astonished, and made my heart beat with joy by saying, "You'll make a good actress some day. Your scene has thrilled me, and I would rather have rough work and a good thrill than any amount of artistic work without it." Spurred on by such encouragement I worked harder than ever, often staying up half the night to get some effect while trying to look into the heart and mind of the character under study. After that evening in the kitchen, I read scenes or acted them nightly to our small household, usually from "Hamlet," "Richard," or Schiller's "Maid of Orleans."

Dr. Griffin was practising medicine at the time, and happened

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to be called in to see Mr. Henry Wouds,* the leading comedian of Macauley's Theatre. He spoke to the actor so continually and enthusiastically of my work, that the latter at last requested a reading from me. *Richard* was the part, I determined, which would be the best, not to read, but to act to him. The interval before the day fixed for this trial was intensely exciting, and I was painfully nervous on seeing Mr. Wouds accompanied by the stage and business managers of the theatre, coming towards our house. I had never before seen an actor off the stage; this was in itself a sensation, and I felt besides that my whole future depended on his judgment of my work. The acting began, and was continually applauded. When over, Mr. Wouds sprang towards me, and, taking both my hands, said, "Let me be the first to hail you as our American Rachel."

Mr. Wouds was soon called away to support Miss Charlotte Cushman during her engagement in Cincinnati, Ohio. He evidently spoke of my work to the great artist, for, a few days after his departure, a letter came from him saying that Miss Cushman wished to hear me read. My mother, thinking such attentions injurious to one so young, grew nervous when she saw that not only was I bent upon going but that my usual champion, Dr. Griffin, meant to aid and abet me. He urged her to make the short trip, if only to see the great actress. With much persuasion he won the day, and we started for Cincinnati.

The first character in which we saw Miss Cushman was *Meg Merrilies*, in an indifferent dramatization of Sir Walter Scott's "Guy Mannering." When, in the moonlight of the scene, she dashed from her tent on to the stage, covered with the grey shadowy garments of the gipsy sibyl, her appearance was ghost-like and startling in the extreme. In her mad rushes on and off the stage, she was like a cyclone. During the prophecy:

> "The dark shall be light
> And the wrong made right,
> And Bertram's right, and Bertram's might,
> Shall meet on Ellengowan's height,"

she stood like some great withered tree, her arms stretched out, her white locks flying, her eyes blazing under their shaggy brows. She was not like a creature of this world, but like some mad majestic wanderer from the spirit land. When *Dirk Hatteraick's*

* A few years later, wearying of the stage, Mr. Wouds entered the church, where his preaching was highly appreciated.

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fatal bullet entered her body, and she came staggering down the stage, her terrible shriek,* so wild and piercing, so full of agony and yet of the triumph she had given her life to gain, told the whole story of her love and her revenge. When after her awfully realistic death-scene, she had been carried from the stage, there was perfect silence in the crowded theatre, and not until the curtain fell upon the last few lines of the play did shouts of enthusiasm break the stillness. The surprise and pleasure of the audience knew no bounds when, having washed off her witch's mask, she came before them *in propriâ personâ*, a sweet-faced old lady, with a smile all kindness, and a graciousness of manner quite royal. Indeed, I never saw such charm and dignity, until years after, at Westminster Abbey, when, celebrating her Golden Jubilee, Queen Victoria, with one sweeping courtesy, acknowledged with majestic grace the presence of the assembled multitude.

It was arranged that we should meet Miss Cushman the next day. We accordingly awaited her in the large parlor of the hotel. Presently we heard a heavy masculine tread, and a voice, too high for a man's, too low for a woman's, saying, "I am sorry to be late, but some of the actors were duller than usual this morning." She stood before us, her well-set figure simply clad, the short hair in her neck still in curling pins, showing a delightful absence of vanity, for she had just come in from the street. She looked at me for a moment with the keenest interest in her kind blue-grey eyes, then wrung my hand with unexpected warmth. "Come, come, let us lose no time," said she in her brisk business-like way. "Let us see what you can do. *Richard! Hamlet! Richelieu!* Schiller's *Maid of Orleans?* A curious selection for such a child to make. But begin, for I am pressed for time." It was trying to stand without preparation before so great a woman, but, with a determined effort to forget her, I acted scenes from "Richelieu" and "Jeanne d'Arc." When the trial was over, I stood before her in that state of flush and quiver

* An actor who played *Dirk Hatteraick* with her, told me that at this climax she struck her breast, which was like a coal of fire with the disease that was fast killing her, and that her cry was one of intense agony. Talma believed that an actor had two distinct beings in him, apart from the good and the evil we all possess—viz., the artist, who is any character he may be cast for, and the man in his own person. His theory was that the artist always studies the man, and cannot consider himself near perfection until he becomes master of the man's every mood and emotion. He describes the deathbed of his father, and the grief he felt in losing so excellent a parent, but adds that even in that solemn moment the artist began curiously to study the grief of the man. Yet he does not speak of the artist giving the man physical pain for the production of a stage effect, as did the great Cushman.

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which often follows our best efforts. Laying her hand kindly upon my shoulder, "My child," said she, "you have all the attributes that go to make a fine actress; too much force and power at present, but do not let that trouble you. Better have too much to prune down, than a little to build up." My mother was troubled at hearing her speak so calmly of the stage as my future career, and protested earnestly. No one, she said, of her family, nor of my father's, had ever been on the stage, and she added that, to be frank, she did not like the atmosphere of the theatre, and could not look with favor upon a child of hers adopting it as a profession. Miss Cushman listened attentively. "My dear madam," she answered, "you will not judge the profession so severely when you know it better. Encourage your child; she is firmly and rightly, I think, resolved on going upon the stage. If I know anything of character, she will go with or without your consent. Is it not so?" (to me). "Yes," said I—and how my heart beat at the confession. "Be her friend," continued she to my mother. "Give her your aid; no harm can come to her with you by her side." Then turning to me again, "My advice to you is not to begin at the bottom of the ladder; for I believe the drudgery of small parts, in a stock company without encouragement, often under the direction of coarse natures, would be crushing to you. As a rule I advocate beginning at the lowest round, but I believe you will gain more by continuing as you have begun. Only go to my friend, George Vandenhoff, and tell him from me that he is to clip and tame you generally. I prophesy a future* for you, if you continue working earnestly. God be with you! Doubtless in a year or two you will be before the public. May I be there to see your success!" With a hearty farewell she stalked out of the room. That was our first and last interview. In her almost brusque manner, she had led me to the right path, and had, in less than an hour, fought successfully the dreaded battle with my mother. In two years' time, I had made my *début* upon the stage, and she, the greatest of all American actresses, was sleeping her last sleep in a laurel-covered grave at Mount Auburn.

MARY DE NAVARRO.

* Miss Cushman's words have been given, not because they were flattering to the writer, but because they show the quick decisiveness, insight into character, and generosity of the eminent woman.

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THE MUNICIPAL SPIRIT IN ENGLAND.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER.

AT this moment we have, in the problem of the government of London, questions which involve all England, and interest the civilized world. Municipal government in England is no longer confined to the details of water supply, street paving and cleaning, lighting and sewage, and police protection. Within a period covered by my own observations, the large provincial cities, and quite recently London itself, have become the scenes of the most daring socialistic experiments of the century. In consequence, the municipal life of the English people has assumed a new phase for the student of political economy, and one far more complicated than the examination of budgets, the study of taxation and expenditure, and a comparison of debt and valuation of property. Town life in the twentieth century will be as widely different from town life in the nineteenth century as the town life of the fifteenth century, which Mrs. Green describes so interestingly, differed from that of the present day. The stupendous change from country to town, which the present generation has witnessed in northern Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States, at first massed the population like cattle in the lower quarters of the great cities. The centralization of industry consequent upon changed methods of manufacturing made this necessary. It took time to adjust these centres of industrial energy to the new conditions, but it was inevitable in a country like England, which in a large measure abandoned agricultural interests for the more tempting fields of manufacture. In this, of course, her large cities took an important part. For a while no attention was paid to the condition of the people either in workshop, factory or home. Tempted from the dull monotony of rural life by higher wages than the

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land afforded, the British working classes migrated to the large cities. Huddled together in the vilest tenements, burrowing like moles below the earth in noisome cellars, working hours without number in the fetid atmosphere of illy ventilated factories, subject to the frightful dangers of badly inspected mines, and falling easy victims to disease in consequence of bad drainage or poor water supply, the first step of the modern industrial system may have brought a shower of gold to the capitalist, but it left a sickening trail of human victims in the wake of the triumphant car of progress.

Bad as many of these cities are now in spots, and high as the death rate is in the lower quarters, the report of the Royal Commission of 1844 revealed a condition that, if allowed to continue, would have simply destroyed the efficiency of the working classes of the kingdom and seriously impaired the nation's vitality. Fortunately for England, the greed-driven manufacturers were brought up sharply by an aroused public sentiment, and legislation was begun which has led up to changes that will revolutionize town life of the twentieth century, forever explode the inhuman theory that pressure of competition is justification for degrading the standard of life of the whole community, and improve the condition and stamina of the English people.

The municipal spirit so common in the United States and in the large cities of the ancient world seems to have been almost dormant in England until the middle of the present century. Then it broke out in many directions. The condition of the working classes in the large towns was, as I have said, deplorable. Education, sanitary conditions, hours of labor, protection of life and health in occupation, open spaces for recreation, and rational amusements had received little attention from economists, whose eyes were fixed on the growing volume of Board of Trade statistics, and whose pens were active in the glorification of England's expanding manufactures and commerce. The dawn of better times came with the various factory and mining laws, the legislation in relation to sanitary matters and the artisans' dwelling-house acts, followed by the establishment of Board schools, and an awakening of the municipal spirit which has already brought about many important changes in the provinces, and which in six years has cemented the parishes of London into the greatest municipal experiment of the age.

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In this short time the establishment of the London County Council has crystallized and humanized the heretofore discordant elements of the metropolis, and, as it seems to me, has done more to encourage what is best and most advanced in local life than all London's 120 charters running over 670 years, from William the Conqueror to George II., to say nothing of the innumerable acts of Parliament relating to the functions of the various boards and bodies which control the affairs of the metropolis.

Before dealing with London as we find it to-day it may be worth while to briefly note some of the changes that have taken place in the other principal cities, because there we shall find not only much of interest and permanent value in the discussion of the municipal problem, but much that will enable us to forecast the future of this interesting experiment in governing five millions of people.

The old aspect of municipal administration dealt with the paving and lighting of streets, the supply of water, the construction of sewers, in maintaining order and occasionally in the establishment of Parks. The new phase of municipal administration in its most ambitious form, aims to deal with every question that directly or indirectly affects the life of the people. Carried to the extent to which it has been in some British cities it is in fact nothing short of municipal socialism. Those who wish to study the details of this new order of things will do well to obtain a work recently published, entitled "Municipalities at Work," by Frederick Dolman, in which I have found much of value in relation to what the various English cities have accomplished. Another useful work on the subject has been published by Dr. Albert Shaw, of New York, who has made some interesting studies of individual English cities. The present article at the most can only touch lightly the, as yet, partially explored field of detail. A decided step in this direction would be fatal to the purpose I have in view, namely, the influence of these experiments on the social welfare of the masses of the people, for whose benefit and improvement they have been instituted.

The new school of municipal administration in England enters into the life of the people. It not only takes upon itself the unprofitable side of the local budgets, but argues very plausibly that a well-governed municipality can afford to give no privileges by which corporations may enrich themselves at the expense of the

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community ; that such profits belong to the community at large or should be used to promote the general welfare.

Beginning with the municipalization of gas and water, the idea has extended to tramways, markets, baths, libraries, picture galleries, technical schools, artisans' dwellings, cricket fields, foot-ball grounds, tennis courts, gymnasia for girls as well as boys, regulation of refreshment tariffs, free chairs in the parks, free music, and last, though not least, it is proposed to invade the sacred rights of John Bung himself and municipalize the gin shops and public houses.

At Glasgow, a short time ago, I was afforded an opportunity of riding in the new and comfortable city tram cars. These cars are gaily emblazoned with the city coat of arms. The men are dressed in new and handsome uniforms, and instead of toiling from fourteen to sixteen hours per day to enrich a corporation, these men work ten hours, are paid higher wages than before, and to all appearances are treated like human beings. And yet travelling is cheap enough—one mile one cent. Instead of charging, as in London, a higher rate for long distances, working men are encouraged to seek homes out of town by a proportional reduction as the distance increases.

The municipality of Glasgow took over the tramways simply because the private company refused to agree to improve the lot of its employees. Fortunately like Liverpool and Manchester, Glasgow had wisely constructed its own tramways. They had been leased to the private company for twenty-five years, and the lease expired last year. In renewing this lease the disagreement occurred which ended in the determination of the city to carry on the business itself. The old company refused to sell its rolling stock, whereupon the municipal corporation, not to be bluffed, purchased a new and handsome outfit, lighted the cars by electricity, and is to-day carrying on the business, I hope, successfully. Meantime, the old company has transformed itself into an omnibus company and is trying to compete with the municipality. It is a pity Brooklyn was not in a position to have promptly done the same thing and ended the recent trouble.

Glasgow is also considering a plan for the extension of small bathing or washing establishments at the rear of every street of houses. It is believed from experience in this direction that such a plan would not only be self-supporting, but in time profitable.

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Leeds last year took charge of its own tramways, and for much the same reason as Glasgow. The inefficiency of the service and its exactions from employees created such a widespread dissatisfaction, that the corporation bought out the company. Wages were at once increased, and hours reduced. What is the result? Loss? Not at all. An increase of half a million passengers, and a profit to the municipality. Leeds, however, has not shown the energy of Glasgow in dealing with the question of rapid transit.

Nearly all the principal cities of England, or at least those of them imbued with the new municipal spirit, have made, as it were, a specialty in some particular enterprise, and with invariable success.

Birmingham has become noted because of its great municipal improvements and the success of all its efforts in this direction. The zeal of this city not only extends to the comfort of its people, but to the encouragement of art, science and literature. More to the point, a quarter of a century of the most satisfactory work in this direction has cost the ratepayer no more than the inefficient management of old.

Manchester, among other things, supplies hydraulic power to those requiring it. The boldest scheme probably ever undertaken by a municipality was the construction of the Manchester Ship Canal. The spirit of enterprise which prompted it deserves success, though I am afraid it may prove a mistake. It is, however, the only serious mistake which I have found thus far in my inquiries. Liverpool has a tremendous fight ahead with its slums, and so, indeed, has Manchester. In furnishing municipal lectures and in bettering life and making it more attractive, Liverpool has shown some progressive spirit; though the old conservative element abounding in the great commercial city of the kingdom has hindered the progress which was practically unimpeded in the Midland centre and the manufacturing towns of the North. Glasgow, with its municipal street cars, its city lodging-houses, laundries and popular concerts, is certainly second to Birmingham; Bradford, with its satisfactory electric light system, its remodelled central part, its abolition of slums, and Leeds, with its splendid Central Library and fifty-three branch libraries, and more open space than any other city of its size, are instances of the new order of things in municipal work that must be studied separately to be fully understood and appreciated.

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You cannot tabulate degrees of comfort nor work out exhibits showing the effect of all these changes upon human beings. General observation alone helps in such matters and if my general observation is of any value, I have noticed a tremendous change in all these cities since I first visited them nearly fifteen years ago. I was sent abroad in 1880 by a department of the United States government to look into the financial condition of English cities, to measure their expenditure, gauge their receipts, summarize their debts and estimate their burden of taxation. Even in those days a municipal budget was a dry sort of table to those of us who revelled in figures. The new conception of municipal government had not then made the headway it has today. The relation to social progress was not as close then as now.

The condition of the population of these large towns has undoubtedly improved. This is confirmed both by observation and statistics. A satisfactory decline in the death rate has followed all enterprises looking to the better housing of the poor, the increased area of parks and open spaces, the improvement of sewage and of water supply. Early closing and reduced hours of work, have elevated labor and improved the community. Baths, libraries, reading-rooms, art galleries, technical schools, museums, have all helped to make life better worth living in the large cities. There can be but one opinion on this side of the picture.

So far as England is concerned, the only limit on this sort of work would be, I suppose, the capacity of the assessment roll, and the amount the ratepayer is willing to pay. Democratic government we have here; to some extent the government of rich communities by poor men. In England, however, as a rule, a more responsible class of men interest themselves in municipal affairs, than with us. At the same time, outside of a few large cities, I believe nearly as satisfactory results as we find in England can be obtained in well-governed American cities. As between the contract system and the system of municipal authorities employing labor direct, I am in favor of the latter. There is less chance of jobbery, of a low grade of work, and of squeezing the man who gets the least and works the hardest.

The real, vital, debatable question, which the growth of the municipal idea or municipal spirit is forcing to the front, is: How far can municipalities go in this direction without undermining the whole fabric of free competition?

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In thus becoming its own builder, its own engineer, its own manufacturer, does a municipality enter too much into direct competition with private industries? Does it not undertake work which individuals are equally able to perform? If this be so, is there not danger of those of us who applaud the Tramway enterprise of Glasgow, the Real Estate scheme of Birmingham, the Municipal Tenements of Liverpool, the Hydraulic Power and Ship Canal venture of Manchester, the Abolition of Slums in Bradford, and the grand municipal achievement of Leeds, finding some day or other enterprises not in the present catalogue taken up by municipalities. In other words, to what extent is it safe to trust municipalities in this direction?

John Morley has said: "You may safely entrust to local bodies powers which would be mischievous and dangerous in the hands of the central government." On this theory, undoubtedly true in the main, England is for the moment basing her municipal legislation, and the cities and towns of the country are rapidly becoming important factors in the adjustment of wages and hours of labor. In all advanced cities, and especially cities which have abolished contractors and employ labor direct, a regular scale of wages corresponding to the highest rate is in force. The hours of labor vary from fifty-three to sixty per week. In some of the cities, sweepers, men employed in gas works, etc., pay in a small part of their earnings, which is supplemented by the city, and at sixty-five they are pensioned. If they die before this age the money goes to their representatives.

In matters relating to labor, perhaps the London County Council is the most conspicuous example, if not for what it has already accomplished, certainly for the present and future extent of its operations.

The theatre of this experiment is an area difficult to define because of its enormous size and the complexity of the jurisdiction affecting it. The term London is at present so indefinite as to cover at least ten different areas.* The population of these several areas ranges from 37,705 for the City of London to 5,633,806, for the total area within the Metropolitan Police District. The administrative County of London, over which the County Council has jurisdiction in practically nearly all matters relating to the

*The corporation of the city, the County Council, the police, the magistracy, poor-law guardians, and asylum board, the central criminal court, the school board, the Register General, the water company, the gas company, the post-office.

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general welfare of the people, except criminal matters and police, contains about five millions of people. The cost of governing this area, representing one-fifth of one per cent. of the area of England and Wales, is something like $60,000,000 per annum. This does not include either gas or water which are supplied at an annual additional cost to the inhabitants of $25,000,000 and $10,000,000 respectively. For the definite charitable organizations exclusive of hospitals, schools, and endowments of all kinds, about $12,500,000 are annually spent.

According to *Burdett's Annual* the amount spent on the principal hospitals is $4,000,000. There is no means of ascertaining this exactly, but Mr. Burdett informed me that the yearly income of the greater charities which have their headquarters in London amounts to upwards of $35,000,000, equal to the total revenues of New York city. Of this stupendous sum, London probably receives at least half, possibly $20,000,000.

London's annual budget, as nearly as I am able to estimate it, for taking care of between five and six millions of people is as follows:

Cost of Lighting	$26.000,000
Water supply	10.000,000
Police	9.500,000
Schools	10,000,000
Streets	10.000,000
Paupers	12,500,000
Private charities and hospitals of all kinds	20.0 0,0 0
Health	3.500,000
Fire protection	650,000
Interest on debt	5,000,000
Total	$107,150,000

As an off-set for this enormous expenditure we have an income that when compared with the rest of England is simply gigantic. The assessed rental value of houses for London is upwards of $180,000,000, nearly 30 per cent. of the total for all England; net profits of trades or professions, $265,000,000, or over 41 per cent. In the schedules relating to particular properties and public companies, London represents nearly 60 per cent. or a total of $445,000,000 and in salaries and fees nearly 70 per cent., or $115,000,000, a total annual income exceeding 1,000 millions of dollars.

Perhaps these astounding totals representing incomes may give American readers some idea of the volume of earnings that pour annually into the coffers of this great center of the world's wealth, trade and commerce.

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The items of expense given in the table above only represent the more striking expenditures. It would be safe to estimate the total cost in round figures, say at 110 millions of dollars. Nearly a quarter of this goes for furnishing artificial light: another quarter for pauperism and charities. London's gas bill represents nearly one-third the amount expended for gas by the United Kingdom. Nor is the item of pauperism and charities large when we bear in mind the appalling fact that twenty-seven out of every hundred deaths in this aggregation of humanity occur in public institutions. Every fourth person you meet on the crowded, bustling thoroughfares of Living London dies a pauper, an inmate of a hospital or of a lunatic asylum.

The active industrial classes, those engaged in trades and industries, exceed a million. To furnish these and other professional and commercial classes with efficient means of locomotion from their homes to the various centres of work, is a problem hardly taken up by the municipality of London, much less solved, as is the case in large provincial cities. It is managed in an unsatisfactory manner, by a patchwork of ingeniously disagreeable methods, consisting of freezing, lumbering omnibuses, smoking, choking underground railways and tramway cars which it takes an hour's journey in some other conveyance to find. On the other hand, the cab system is almost perfect, and the charges reasonable. The proportions of this service may be realized from the fact that the total number of hackney and stage carriages at the present time is nearly 15,000.

In the ordinary course of events the London County Council, which by the way has come to stay, has some stupendous municipal problems to solve without considerable extension of the functions of municipal government—I mean without at present plunging too deeply into the labor question, the municipal ownership of the land for the common good, and the new vista of possibilities of municipal action which the more advanced advocates propose. One would think that the gas and water supply involving $36,000,000 per annum, and the improvements of transit, afford a field for the ambitions of the ablest municipal statesmen. And there are some very able and distinguished men in the London County Council, men who represent every phase of thought in politics. At Spring Gardens extremes meet. Howard of Norfolk, England's premier duke, may measure

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swords with plain John Burns, M. P. and labor leader. The late Prime Minister, Earl Rosebery, will always remember with pride and satisfaction that he assisted at the birth of this most democratic of all public governing bodies in England. As chairman of the London County Council his first two annual addresses will some day become of great historical importance in the discussion of the municipal tendencies of the times. Statesmen of the first class, scientists whose names are known the world over, economists, men of letters, jurists, politicians, business men, labor representatives, are for the moment taking an active interest in administering to the comfort and welfare of the London five millions. The experiment is watched with even more curiosity and interest by foreigners who have a front view than by those at home behind the scenes.

Of the public spirit, ability and honesty of these gentlemen no one who has studied the six years' work of the London County Council can have a doubt.

The adoption of what is known as the "fair wages clause" by the London County Council and many other English municipalities is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, though the growing tendency of the Council to take upon itself work of all descriptions is used with effect by the Moderates to alarm timid taxpayers and large landlords.

The best defence of this system, and of the "fair wages clause" in all contracts may be found in an article by Sidney Webb in the January *Contemporary*. Mr. Webb is undoubtedly the ablest Progressive leader in the Council. A politician will find it difficult to answer such an argument as the following from Mr. Webb's article:

"It may be economically permissible under the present organization of industry for a private employer to pay wages upon which, as he perfectly well knows, it is impossible for the worker to maintain himself or herself in efficiency. But when a Board of Poor Law Guardians finds itself rescuing from starvation, out of the Poor Rate, women actually employed by one of its own contractors to make up workhouse clothing, at wages insufficient to keep body and soul together, even the most rigorous economist would admit that something was wrong.

"The London County Council, responsible as it is for the health of the people of London, declines to use its position as an

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employer deliberately to degrade that health by paying wages obviously and flagrantly insufficient for maintenance, even if competition drives down rates to that pitch.

"What economist, now that the Wages Fund is dead and buried, will venture to declare this action uneconomic."

Shocking as it would sound to the free trade ears of Mr. Webb, this is simply a municipal form of protection. Mr. Webb would undoubtedly say that the council's policy in these matters was not the abolition of competition, but the shifting of its plane from mere cheapness to that of "industrial efficiency."

By this method it is claimed they close up to the contractor the less legitimate means of making profit by the aid of "pauper labor." We do no more than this when we ask the English manufacturer to pay a duty on his goods; goods made perhaps in the same way as Mr. Webb describes. In other words, the London County Council has established, beyond doubt, the doctrine that it is immoral to take advantage of any cheapness that is got by merely beating down the standard of life of particular sections of the wage-earner. Mr. Webb says:

"And just as the factory acts have won their way to economic approval, not merely on humanitarian grounds, but as positively conducive to individual efficiency, so, too, it may confidently be predicted, will the now widely adopted fair wages clauses."

As a protectionist I am willing to concede that industrial efficiency is undoubtedly promoted by fair wages, that cheap labor, whether in a large city or in the country districts, means a degraded population; but I fail to see that the mischief or danger in this sort of legislation, if mischief or danger there be, is incurred by placing it in the hands of the State, whereby the labor of a whole nation is elevated, instead of permitting the cities and towns to carry it on in spots. The strongest part of the protection armor has always seemed to me what may be called the political argument; that is, the conditions of the country (the United States if you please) must be protected against the lower conditions or standard of wages and of living in European countries, where the environments of the working classes are so different. Whatever views may be held on these questions of political economy it will be seen that municipal government in England is spreading its functions in dangerous economic ground, and that the battle at this moment, for control of Spring Gardens involves

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questions of far greater import to England and the world at large, than a penny a month increase in local taxes, or the administration of the local budget of London.

This contest does not, as some suppose, involve the existence of the County Council, or the so-called unification of London. These questions are no longer debatable. London stands to-day one, and indivisible. As Mr. Asquith recently said, "London is not a fortuitous aggregation of a set of adjacent communities," though from a recent article by the last Lord Mayor of London in this REVIEW one would imagine that to be the case.

Mr. Leonard Courtney, surely a wise and judicious man and chairman of the Royal Commission, which recently reported on this subject, informed me that no serious objection exists in either political party to the ultimate unification of London.

Mr. Courtney is a Liberal-Unionist not fully in sympathy with the progressive majority of the London County Council. "London," he said, "will never be divided into separate municipalities —of that you may feel assured—not if the Conservative party should return to power. The only question is the division of what may be termed powers relating to the common life of the people and those which may wisely be treated locally. In these changes the corporation of London will be treated with fairness and with a full appreciation of its wealth, traditions and civic importance." Mr. Courtney is so entirely right in his estimate of English public opinion on the question, that this phase of the London municipal problem does not seem to me worth discussing in a general way.

Lord Salisbury, who poses as the friend of the old city, is barren so far as a positive policy is concerned. London will never again be split up into topographical expressions. It has realized the advantages of true civic patriotism, and will continue to increase the central power in all things that affect the common interest and raise the level of its people. The only real question, therefore, as I have endeavored to explain, is how far this policy of improving the condition of the people may be carried without encountering the danger already pointed out.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

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IMPROVEMENT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

BY THE HON. W. G. RICE, OF THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

TWELVE years ago "An act to Regulate and Improve the Civil Service of the United States" became law. Since then this law has continued unchanged—neither enlarged by amendment nor diminished by repeal. This freedom from alteration may rightly be counted a tribute to the discretion of those who framed the statute and an evidence of their sound judgment. Certainly such stable existence is conclusive proof of the desire of the people that the plan thus formulated should have opportunity to demonstrate its usefulness.

The United States Civil Service Commission was the agency created by the law of 1883 to put the machinery for improving the civil service in motion, and to it was also committed the guidance of this machinery in the subsequent regulation of the service. The duties of the three Commissioners constituting the Board are primarily "to aid the President as he may request" in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect. The essential improvements sought to be accomplished under the act were three.

First: Fairness to all applicants and to all sections of the country. This fairness to applicants is secured by the provision for appointment in the public service after "open, competitive examinations," which "shall be practical in their character, and so far as may be shall relate to those matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons examined to discharge the duties of the service into which they seek to be appointed." Fairness to all sections of the country is secured by the requirement that "appointments to the public service aforesaid in the departments at Washington shall be apportioned

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among the several states, territories and the District of Columbia upon the basis of population as ascertained at the last preceding census." Obstruction by any person in the public service of the right of examination, or false marking thereof, is made a penal offence.

Second: Liberty of action in political matters. This liberty is embodied in the declaration "that no person in said service has the right to use his official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body." Dismissal from office is the penalty provided by the rules for such coercion.

Third: Freedom from involuntary political servitude and from political assessments. These are embodied in declaring "that no person in the public service is for that reason under any obligations to contribute to any political fund, or to render any political service," and by providing penalty of fine and imprisonment of specified public officers or employees who shall be convicted of soliciting or receiving political contributions "from any person receiving any salary or compensation from moneys derived from the Treasury of the United States." It is also a penal offense for any person to solicit or receive such contributions in any United States building, navy yard, fort, or arsenal; or for any person in the service of the United States to give to any other person in the service of the United States any money on account of or to be applied to the promotion of any political object whatever.

The scheme devised to accomplish these results is no longer in its infancy. Its value now can be justly measured; and while vindication of the system necessarily condemns practices opposed, it is needless to dwell, to tiresome iteration, upon "spoils," "spoilsmen," and "spoils system." These and other similar words have become the cant of the discussion; they retard rather than advance a present understanding of the broader phases of the subject. The system in operation is abundantly justified when demonstration is made that it leads in the direction of good government, apart from every other consideration based upon sentiment or moral speculation. And every intelligent advocate of the improvement and regulation of the civil service will be firm in his insistence that the chief argument must be upon this line.

To-day under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission are 55,000 positions, comprising what is properly known as the

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classified civil service of the United States. While the number of these positions increases constantly and automatically by reason of the natural increase in the number of Government employees, yet the greater additions to the 14,000 originally classified by President Arthur have been made by subsequent Presidential orders. From 1885 to 1895 there were 24,000 positions thus specially added. The most recent notable inclusion is that of about 3,000 positions in the office of the Public Printer made by the President in August, 1895. The magnitude of the classified civil service as above defined may perhaps be best realized in the light of the fact that there is an expenditure of $50,000,000 every year to pay the salaries of the places comprised therein.

It is a great advance in the just administration of public affairs when a practical system has been devised by which substantially 55,000 government places are opened to all our people through the door of ascertained merit. It appears as a still greater advance when it is realized that this army of 55,000 intelligent citizens, most of them voters, cannot be used in the future either to bolster up a waning political creed nor be made a barrier to any demanded reform. And, greatest advance of all, in its bearing upon the integrity of a representative government, is the fact that no part of this total compensation can be legitimately exacted hereafter for political purposes, nor can the weight of these salaries be used by unscrupulous men to secure personal political work from public servants, whose wages are paid by all the people. The accomplishment of these things indisputably tends in the direction of better government.

The civil service law itself was the first efficient statutory movement in the improvement of the civil service; but, this beginning having been made, the improvement is now proceeding upon even broader lines than those laid down in the law. Other steps have been taken outside the law of far-reaching and beneficial importance, and these deserve attentive consideration.

It is of preliminary interest to note that under section 1753 of the Revised Statutes, passed March 3, 1871, a complete merit system of civil service could be carried out except in the matter of offences declared penal. This section provides as follows:

"Sec. 1753. The President is authorized to prescribe such regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service of the United States as

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may best promote the efficiency thereof, and ascertain the fitness of each candidate in respect to age, health, character, knowledge and ability for the branch of service into which he seeks to enter; and for this purpose he may employ suitable persons to conduct such inquiries, and may prescribe their duties, and establish regulations for the conduct of persons who may receive appointments in the civil service."

Acting presumably under the latter part of this section, the President, in July, 1886, issued executive instructions addressed "To the heads of all Departments in the service of the General Government." In the course of these instructions the President said:

"Office-holders are the agents of the people, not their masters. Not only is their time and labor due to the Government, but they should scrupulously avoid in their political action, as well as in the discharge of their official duty, offending, by display of obtrusive partizanship, their neighbors who have relations with them as public officials.

"They should also constantly remember that their party friends, from whom they have received preferment, have not invested them with the power of arbitrarily managing their political affairs. They have no right as office-holders to dictate the political action of their party associates, or to throttle freedom of action within party lines by methods and practices which pervert every useful and justifiable purpose of party organization. . . .

"Individual interest and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned. Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges; but their privileges are not enlarged nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity by office-holding.

"A just discrimination in this regard between the things a citizen may properly do and the purposes for which a public office should not be used is easy in the light of a correct appreciation of the relation between the people and those entrusted with official place, and a consideration of the necessity, under our form of government, of political action free from official coercion."

The issue of this letter was the second important progression in the improvement and regulation of the civil service.

These established regulations for the conduct of persons receiving appointments in the civil service have been of great value in supplementing the provisions of the act of 1883. They were subsequently included in general terms in the Postal Laws and Regulations, as follows:

"Office-holders must not use their official positions to control political movements. They should not offend by obtrusive partizanship, nor should they assume the active conduct of political campaigns. A postmaster is not forbidden to exercise any political privilege, but should make proper discrimination between what ought and what ought not to be done by a public officer. He serves all the people, who are entitled to attention, civility, and assistance. No postmaster in whom the Government has, by virtue of his

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appointment, reposed trust and confidence should find difficulty in deciding as to the proper course to be pursued in the premises. This is in consonance with the order of President Cleveland of July 14, 1886."

This postal rule was confirmed by the succeeding administration in the February, 1893, edition of Postal Rules and Regulations, and the letter of President Cleveland was specifically republished as an order of the Postmaster-General in May, 1894. Concurrently with this reiteration was the establishment by the Postmaster-General of the important rule that:

"No carrier shall be removed except for cause, upon written charges filed with the Post Office Department, and of which the carrier shall have full notice and an opportunity to make defense."

This was a third admirable and far-reaching step beyond the requirements of the act of 1883. In this relation the opinion of the present Postmaster-General, as expressed in an address delivered before the National Convention of Letter Carriers at Philadelphia in September last, is specially pertinent. He said:

"No one rejoices more than I do, both on principle and on the lower plane of selfish convenience, that every free delivery post-office in the country is now under civil service rules; that the gateway to employment therein is no longer partizan influence, but the free and open road of personal merit, and that the tenure of that employment no longer depends upon anything else than individual merit and individual fidelity."

A fourth step was one upon which highest commendation should be bestowed as affecting men who had no strong voice to present their appeal. This was the order by the Secretary of the Navy in April, 1891, requiring that demonstrated capacity of the workmen, without regard to political belief or influence, should be the controlling factor in the employment of laborers in the navy yards. The system then established for navy yards has continued in successful operation ever since.

A final advance, entering into an entirely new field, is the President's recent order providing for the application of the merit principle, as ascertained by formulated examinations, to certain grades of our consular service. The uniform approval which the public press has accorded this latest progress is gratifying evidence of the widespread appreciation by the whole people of the benefits they are receiving from executive acts of this character.

These things already have been done. Incidentally, something concerning the future is of interest. The time now ap-

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proaches when the inclusion of several thousand minor post-offices within some form of the merit system is seen to be a possibility. Public opinion would assuredly approve this inclusion as in the line of progressive methods of administration and as undoubtedly increasing the efficiency of an extremely important branch of government work. And the application of certain features of the merit system to laborers in navy yards having demonstrated its practicability, it is probable that some wide extension of the plan so as to include all government laborers will speedily be devised. The time also seems ripe for the general formulation and enforcement of rules to govern promotions. This regulation of promotions was an essential element of the scheme as originally conceived and enacted, and it is a feature which deserves more effective consideration than it has heretofore received.

A new function which enables the Civil Service Commission to greatly increase its usefulness has recently developed. This function is that of consultation by various State and city authorities. Municipal boards of New York and Chicago and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia have thus received from the Commission at Washington much valuable assistance in inaugurating local merit systems.

While it is assumed that the methods are well known by which the work of the United States Commission is accomplished, it will aid in forming an accurate judgment on the subject now under consideration to recall some special features of their procedure. The Commission consists of three persons appointed by the President, not more than two of whom can be adherents of the same political party. This Commission meets daily as a Board. By this Board all questions for examinations are passed upon, the places and dates of examinations throughout the United States are fixed, appeals from markings are adjudged, claims for preference on account of military service are determined, requests for reinstatement in the civil service are considered, and all allegations of political discrimination and charges of illegal political assessment are investigated. Upon the request of the President the Commission formulates rules for carrying the Civil Service law into effect, which rules, upon approval by the President, are filed with the Secretary of State, and have in many respects the effect of law. These rules, however, are subject to change at the will of the President. It is by this possi-

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bility of change in the scope of the rules that all additions to the classified service, beyond the natural automatic increment, have been made. This provision, by which the jurisdiction of the law is extended to new departments without amendment of the law being necessary, is one of several admirable flexibilities of the act of 1883.

Regular examinations of applicants for appointment are held at least twice a year at convenient places in practically every State and Territory, and many times a year at Washington. Schedules of such examinations are widely distributed, bulletins are posted in various United States buildings throughout the country, and notice is published in the newspapers of each locality. Special supplementary examinations are held whenever the needs of the public service require. The endeavor is to make the questions most practical, and all departments are continually invited to offer suggestions as to the character and scope of the questions. Recently the Commission has inaugurated the plan of also asking suggestions from merchants and other private employers of large clerical forces.

It has always been recognized that no examination can be devised which will infallibly indicate the capacity to accomplish work, and therefore, after an applicant has passed an examination and has been selected for appointment, it is required that he should serve a probation period of six months before the appointment can become absolute. No matter how high an applicant may have stood in examination, if, at the end of six months, his conduct is not satisfactory and his capacity is not demonstrated to the appointing power, he shall be notified that he will not receive absolute appointment, and this notification discharges him from the service. He cannot take another examination until one year has elapsed after such discharge. It is, however, excellent testimony to the character of the examinations that dismissals at the end of a probationary period are practically unknown. On the other hand, the authority and duty of removal for any delinquency or incapacity before or after the expiration of the probation period are left undisturbed by the civil service act and rules.

Many local examinations are conducted by boards, the members of which are under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission for such purposes, but are employees of the post-offices,

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custom-houses and internal revenue offices throughout the country. All examination papers, however, are now marked at Washington, and the standing of the applicant is fixed by the Central Board of Examiners there. This board is made up from the permanent clerical force of the Commission. Until standing is determined, the applicant is known only by the number appearing on his examination papers. His name, residence, and other information concerning him, are contained on a separate sheet, which does not come before those who mark the examination papers.

The Commission is authorized, but not directed, to make investigations as to the execution of the civil service act. It has no power to administer oaths in such investigations; and the limited authority conferred appears to have been with the wise purpose that the attention of the Commission should be chiefly concentrated in the direction of securing good material for positions rather than in exercising a supervisory power over the internal administration of public offices generally. The law does not declare or in any way intimate that the Commission is to be concerned in legal prosecutions. It has the same obligation as other citizens to bring to the attention of the proper prosecuting officer any violation of law of which it has evidence. Unfortunately, however, the impression seems to have been created in some directions that it is in the nature of a detective bureau organized to discover violations of the law and to ascertain why dismissals are made, having powers somewhat similar to the Secret Service of the Treasury or the inspectors of the Post-Office Department. The usefulness of the Commission in its proper sphere has been hampered by this impression. If it were generally felt that the responsibility rests not upon the Commission but upon the citizens in the several localities to inaugurate prosecutions for violations of the civil service law much greater good would be accomplished.

The punishment imposed for violation of certain civil service rules is dismissal from office, but this dismissal rests as a rule with the President, or the Cabinet officer, or other official who is the head of the department concerned. The Civil Service Commission is not in any sense a trial board. Neither has it the power to remove or reinstate any government employee except within its own force at Washington. The work actually committed to the Commission makes greatest progress in proceeding

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upon the assumption that leading public officials to-day are generally desirous of securing the best public service, and are endeavoring to administer their offices in exact accord with civil service, as well as all other, laws.

Questions as to what political contributions are permitted, and as to what degree of political activity is allowed by the civil service act, naturally arise as elections approach. The condemnation of involuntary political service and involuntary political contributions has been previously discussed. Voluntary political service not partizan and not interfering with the public duties of persons in the service of the Government, is evidently contemplated by the act, and voluntary political contributions from public employees are countenanced. Section 13 of the act makes it a penal offence to discriminate, or promise or threaten to do so, against any employee because of his "giving any contribution of money or other valuable thing for any political purpose." No discussion of the right of the individual so to contribute is needed, but it is of interest to note that this section of the civil service act clearly recognizes as allowable the making of such voluntary contributions for political purposes.

As to political activity, the most recent utterances of the Commission indicating its opinion are as follows:

"Those who enter the classified service upon the ground of ascertained merit as established by the civil service rules, and are protected therein, should be quick to recognize the reciprocal obligation thereby imposed, and avoid any action which now or at any future time could reasonably be subject to adverse political criticism."

In the case of charges of improper partizan activity made against an employee of the internal revenue service, who is a member of local Board of Civil Service Examiners, the Commission said:

"While attendance at a political convention as a delegate is not in itself a violation of the civil service rules, the Commission holds that partizan activity sufficient to impair usefulness as a representative of the Civil Service Commission is sufficient cause for removal from membership in any of its boards of examiners."

In conclusion, the civil service law has shown in practice the openness of its methods, its fairness to all sections, and its adaptability to the public service. When selections were made through political pressure the work was done in a corner, the distribution of places was for the advantage of the few, and ap-

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pointments were without adequate consideration of the public need. Undoubtedly the civil service law has done many things in betterment of the public service. Undoubtedly it will do much more in the future. But just as undoubtedly it sometimes prevents the appointment of the person best qualified for the work that is to be done; for under the rules the appointing power must make his selection from the three names certified to him by the Commission. Nevertheless, the competitive merit system is a vast and unmistakable improvement over the former method of selection by political or other influence, and the total results of the civil service act tend unquestionably and strongly toward better government.

But there are advances yet to be made to secure to the whole people all the benefits to which they are entitled. Therefore it is well at this time to give consideration to a principle of the law which is outside of and beyond the penal provisions heretofore discussed. This principle is the intimate relation of the President to the betterment of even the subordinate public service of the United States. Such relation is fully realized only when thoughtful analysis is made of the special act by virtue of which so much has been accomplished. The President appoints the Commissioners "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," and "the President may remove any Commissioner." The President, "as he may request," has the aid of the Commission "in preparing suitable rules for carrying this act into effect," and the Commission regulates examinations "subject to the rules that may be made by the President." In brief, the affirmation of the President is the strength of the system. Such analysis makes clear where honor largely lies for the past. And what of the future? The duty is imperative to see to it that the next President also shall be a man who will take no step backward, but will compel a continuous and aggressive advance in the application of the merit principle.

WILLIAM GORHAM RICE.

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TRUE SOURCE OF AMERICAN WEALTH.

BY THE HON. BEN. F. CLAYTON, PRESIDENT OF THE FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS.

We have no disposition to discuss, in a magazine article, the true source of wealth from a scientific standpoint. We shall ignore the well-beaten path of political economists. The conflict between these scientific gentlemen over finespun theories and doubtful propositions as to natural laws governing mankind in their relation one to the other, and the application of these laws in the production and distribution of wealth, are no nearer settled now than at the close of the last century. Notwithstanding the many unsettled details between economic writers, we are disposed, in the main, to recognize Political Economy as a science, but we are not willing to accept all theoretical deductions as conclusive, for theory often comes in conflict with truth when confronted by practical questions growing out of our great industrial and productive interests. In fact, we think that the science of economy has had but little to do with the accumulations of the vast wealth of the American people. It is a question whether one in fifty of our progressive financiers has ever made a study of the science of Political Economy. Success is not always coupled with an abstract theory, and many of the most successful have learned more from the great book of nature and from practical experience, than they have from all the ethical deductions of the scientific writings from the days of Pliny and Charlemagne to the days of Adam Smith and Mr. Carey.

Every chapter of our eventful history, colonial and national, is intensely interesting to our own people, as well as a great surprise to the people of the old world, and yet, the results attained are perfectly natural when we consider the perfection of the two

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elements that produce wealth, and their complete co-operation on the American continent. In 1820, when the act of Congress was passed for the distribution of public lands there was general dissatisfaction. It was claimed that under that policy it would be several hundred years before the government would find market for its public domain. Less than seventy years ago, in 1827, the land department reported that it would require 500 years to exhaust the public lands, and some of the states insisted that nine-tenths of it would never be sold. Since that time the government, by purchase and by conquest, has added 1,500,000 square miles of new territory, and so lavish has been the demand that the land department reports that all available lands for agricultural purposes have been practically exhausted. The Indian tribes are being forced to smaller bounds to accommodate our growing population, and when tribal lands are thrown on the market, so great has been the rush for homesteads that it has required the presence of the United States army to protect the weak from the strong, in their mad efforts for choice homes. Every tract of government land that can be utilized for farming purposes has been taken. Local and national irrigation conventions are being held. Congress has been petitioned and has instructed the best engineers attainable to investigate the feasibility of water storage and a systematic irrigation for the reclamation of the arid districts to make room for our constantly increasing requirements.

Drawing his conclusions from the United States report of 1880, Mr. Mulhall, ten years ago, gave the annual accumulations of wealth of the four great nations as follows:

United States, $825,000,000; France, $375,000,000; Great Britain, $325,000,000; Germany, $200,000,000.

He then says: "The American people gained more wealth from 1870 to 1880 than Great Britain had gained in all her previous history."

Mr. Mulhall is probably the most profound and best authenticated statistician known to our language—a man raised under a different political atmosphere from ours, with the usual prejudices of his countrymen, governed by a different policy to that of ours, and yet he is absolutely impartial. In a recent contribution to the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, on the "Power and Wealth of the United States," he declares: "We find nothing to compare with the United States in this present year of 1895;" and

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he further says: "The wealth of the American people surpasses that of any other nation past or present."

While the eminent philosopher indicates that our phenomenal increase of wealth has been the result of circumstances, and that the new world might have turned those circumstances to a greater advantage, he proceeds to lay before his readers the fact, verified by statistics, that: "An ordinary farm-hand in the United States raises as much grain as five men" engaged in like occupation in the old world. He seems to deplore that condition of things and attributes it to the want in other countries of mechanical appliances such as we use in the United States. This admission is discreditable to the intelligence and the opportunities of the old world, and especially so to Great Britain, possessed with ample means to develop her immediate productive resources as well as those of her boundless dependencies. It is equally complimentary to the American people that they have been able within a single lifetime to so intelligently utilize the forces of nature as to compel her soil to yield such marvellous wealth.

The census reports show that our per capita increase in wealth has been from $205 in 1820 to $1,039 in 1890. The increase in the wealth of the nation in the same time has been from $1,960,000,000 to $65,027,000,000, which has since been increased to approximately $70,000,000,000.

The civilized world stands amazed at the vast accumulations of the American people, and the query from home and abroad is from whence it came, and what is its true source?

We answer that our success is due to two agencies, both of which the American people possess in the highest degree, namely, labor and its intelligent application to the richest natural resources of any country. In the consideration of the true source of our national wealth we must combine these two elements as one and inseparable. Man must furnish labor and nature must furnish all the material upon which labor is expended. Our labor has always been of the highest type, from the fact that the people of the United States are the remote, if not the direct, descendants of a representative foreign element that had learned to think for itself, and when debarred from acting for itself, to seek a country of equal social and political rights where it could plant the banner of the largest freedom and where

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it could enjoy to the fullest extent the fruits of its own labor. Our population is made up of an energetic class that is willing to leave the scenes of childhood, the home of youth, the mother tongue and native land to cast their fortunes with a strange people. The American citizen, whether native or foreign born, is quick to recognize the rights of all who would come to our shores to better their condition and to throw around them all the safeguards of protection in every social and political right. From the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers there has been a healthful growth in the spirit of freedom, morality, industry and economy. The environments that surround the American citizen are antagonistic to royal exclusiveness. They regard labor as respectable and measure men by the standard of virtue and personal worth.

This independent and industrious class of people, venturing upon our shores, found a country ready to respond to intelligent and well directed labor. Before civilization reached our continent its natural resources were as great as now. In its forest and on its broad plain, and confined within its rich soil, were found the elements to sustain the same number of people as now. It was a vast country—a country of magnificent natural resources, from which has been harvested the results that astonish ourselves. Mr. Jefferson, while President of the young republic, laid before his people, then fringing the edges of the great continent, a graphic picture of its interior resources. He transmitted to the Congress of the United States documents vindicating him from the attacks of his political enemies because of the Louisiana purchase. These papers are highly interesting, and contained the first information that civilization ever had of this new acquisition. They were printed by order of Congress and discussed by the press of the day, the sage of Monticello being unmercifully criticised.

Highly embellished as his descriptions seem to have been, they were nearer in accord with the results since obtained, than was the report of General Fremont and other government officials who placed this country on the map as an unproductive desert.

The people who made an attack upon the President little dreamed of the possibilities that would result from his action in the purchase, or that within its bounds there was a natural

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territory susceptible of cultivation to a point of becoming the greatest grain and food producing country on the earth. Glowing and fanciful as the picture may seem, the results have far surpassed the most sanguine imagination of the President.

The productive resources of one state comprised in the purchase, for the year 1892, was valued at $468,878,000, or more than thirty-one times the cost of the entire tract. The Federal census of 1890 reveals the following facts with reference to Iowa products :

Oats, corn, hay and wheat	$198,869,000
Cattle, hogs and horses	184,424,000
Dairy product	37,000,000
Total	$420,293,000

For the first fifty years of our national existence agriculture in its various forms was almost the universal occupation of its people. In that time they laid the foundation for the complexities of modern life as we see it to-day in diversified labor. "The civilized man in his first beginning was farmer, carpenter, mason, merchant and manufacturer—complete, though primitive, in the individual. But he was a farmer first and foremost, and used the other avocations merely as incidentals to this first and chief employment. Less then a half century has elapsed since the spinning wheel and the loom were common and necessary in the home."

They lived entirely within their own resources, built their own cabins, and constructed the huge fire-place and chimney. A portion of the field was set aside for the flax, and when it had been pulled, bleached and broken, it was manufactured into cloth to supply the needs of the family ; the fleece produced on the farm was submitted to the various processes of preparation necessary and made into clothing without leaving the home. The skins and the furs of animals were tanned by the farmer and converted into shoes for himself and family, and all his energies were in the direction to secure the product from which his wants must be supplied. Since then the inventive genius has been called into activity and has so divided and diversified employment as to revolutionize the condition of things. "But the basal relations remain unchanged, and agriculture as an antecedent presses her claims of precedence with even greater relentless sternness."

Dotted over our vast country are the towns and cities with

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the ceaseless din of factories and the hurry and bustle of trade and traffic. The quiet of every community is disturbed day and night by the busy wheels of commerce as the railways sweep in every direction over their steel trackage in transit to seaboard cities, laden with the rich product of the American farm. In the busy marts are found the employees of ship lines, the transportation companies, the grain elevators, and the clerks of the banking and shipping houses, all handling or re-working the raw material gathered from the forest or the field, and from which the world must be clothed, fed and warmed. This vast army of mechanics, the arts, the trades and the professions, have contributed to a higher perfection of our productive industries; but they are not direct producers of wealth, they are consumers. But these elements must ever remain the true source of wealth, and the solid foundation upon which rests the beautiful and magnificent temple of our success. The natural product of the soil, aided by intelligent labor, is the great creative force, the only source from which wealth may be obtained to meet all obligations. The street car fare, interest on bonds, dividends on stocks, the soldiers' pension, the fees of the professional, the dry goods and grocery bills, as well as the cost of conducting all the intricate machinery of the government, must be paid by the revenues from the soil. The product of the gold and silver mines is valuable only because of the commerce and the wealth created from the soil by the co-operation of labor and nature's fertility. One year of total failure of the products of the earth, and wreck and ruin, starvation and death would be the inevitable results. That the United States finds herself the wealthiest nation on the earth at the end of the first hundred years of her existence is a proud fact. When we consider the high type of citizenship and the nobility of labor with which the country has been blessed, we should not be surprised that our increase in wealth "can be measured at each national census with almost the same precision as that with which the astronomer indicates the distance of the heavenly bodies."

BEN. F. CLAYTON.

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PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

XI.—THE WARNING OF SADOWA.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

"A FEW nights ago there was a scene at the Tuileries more dramatic, perhaps, than any in the most powerful of Alexandre Dumas' historical melodramas. The château was wrapt in silence, for the Empress is away in England or Scotland, and the Emperor was sitting in his own room deeply engrossed with the second volume of *L'Histoire de Jules César*, which is just out. Suddenly, one of the gentlemen-in-waiting, the Marquis de Caux, I believe, enters the Emperor's room; but the Emperor pays no attention, he scarcely looks up. 'What is it?' he asks almost impatiently. 'The Prince de Metternich, sire,' is the answer. The Emperor half rises from his chair and turns very pale, as if with a presentiment of disaster, and before the Ambassador is fairly in the room the presentiment is verified. 'I am sorry to inform your Majesty that the battle of Sadowa, which was fought to-day, has been lost by us,' he says rather more calmly than the Emperor himself. In another moment several horses, which are always kept ready harnessed at night, were put in, and Rouher, Fleury, Drouyn de Lhuys and Randon sent for. The Master of the Horse and the Minister for War reached the Tuileries within a second of one another. The Emperor, who is phlegmatic enough at ordinary times, invariably loses that phlegm in Fleury's presence. 'We have gained Venice for others, we have lost the Rhine for ourselves!' he exclaimed, before the door had been fairly closed behind his most trusty adviser, handing him at the same time the telegram announcing the Austrian defeat. 'We have lost nothing yet, sire,' remarked

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Fleury, glancing at the paper, 'On the contrary; now or never is your chance to reconstruct the map of Europe.' The sentence had barely left his lips when the door opened once more to admit Randon. He had heard what Fleury said. 'We are not ready,' he remarked, addressing Fleury directly and summarily saluting the Emperor. Then turning to the sovereign, 'Your Majesty is well aware that I have not got thirty thousand troops fit to take the field at such a short notice.' 'Thirty thousand troops!' repeated Fleury with his usual dash; 'thirty thousand troops! That's more than sufficient to mask the absence of those that are not ready.' The Emperor shook his head. His eternal want of decision at the critical moment came strong upon him. 'Ah,' he sighed, 'if the Empress were but here.' For once in a way I agree with him; if the Empress had been there, she would have counselled a headlong war with Prussia there and then, and I fancy it would have been the right thing to do. In three months, in six months, in a year, or a couple of years—for that struggle must inevitably come now—it will be too late. Nay, the longer it is delayed the worse it will be for France in the end, for those who know best aver that Prussia is gaining strength every day. Sadowa has effaced the glory of Solferino, Prussia has proved her single-handed superiority over Austria in Bohemia, just as France proved it seven years ago in Lombardy. If anything, the proof is in favor of King Wilhelm's legions, for Victor Emmanuel's troops did, after all, count for something. Practically, though, the two nations stand confessed equals on the battlefield with regard to one adversary, and that one the military power hitherto deemed too strong for attack by her latest victor who for years submitted to great humiliations at her hands.

"Unless I am greatly mistaken in the temper of the French, they will not relish that real or supposed equality; it will rankle in their minds, and they will hold Napoleon III. directly responsible for it. There, I feel, lies the rock ahead. The French will not be satisfied until they have proved to the world at large that Jena and not Leipzig or Waterloo was the test of their military supremacy to Prussia. They will not rest until they have measured conclusions with the descendants of the armies of Frederic the Great once more, and that rather than the prospect of the acquisition of territory on the banks of the Rhine will be

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the real cause of the next contest between them and the Teuton. I feel convinced that no diplomatic skill will avert that contest, unless Prussia would submit to the most extravagant demands on the part of France. Sadowa, to my mind, has put an end to the probability of such concessions, if ever they were seriously entertained by King Wilhelm since he has had two such men as Helmuth von Moltke and Otto von Bismarck by his side.

"I like and admire Napoleon III. as much as any man, but I am not blind to the fact that it would want a Richelieu and a Jomini to co-operate with him in order to withstand successfully the combination arrayed against him. There is not a Metternich or a Talleyrand in the whole of France, let alone a Richelieu; if there be a Jomini, he is carefully kept away from the Court by the dancing and swaggering clique who maintain that *le courage fait tout.* And worse than all, Bazaine is in Mexico. I am told by those who are competent to express an opinion, that he and Niel are the only two among the marshals who can lay claim to the name of strategists in the serious acceptation of the term; although those same informants do not hesitate to aver that there are at least half-a-dozen officers of lesser grades that are superior to both. The competent ones are, however, systematically ostracised by the Court party, which though devoured by jealousy of one another does not even condescend to be jealous of these. They are simply ignored. The jealousy, intriguing, and caballing are reserved for those who cannot be ignored; the result of all this is an all-pervading spirit of meanness which it would be impossible to describe and still more impossible to impress upon the outsider but for some startling proofs in individual instances. A lawyer would call them *pièces de conviction morales.*

"Some time after the fall of Sebastopol, its eminent defender paid a visit to France and met with a distinguished welcome at the Tuileries. When taking leave of the Emperor, he mentioned casually that on his way home he was going to spend a day at the camp of Châlons to see General Raoult, the chief of the staff. Noticing the look of surprise on the Emperor's face, Todtleben explained, 'During the late war, sir, General Raoult was my most formidable adversary.' It wanted a foreign general to draw the Emperor's attention to an officer of his army whose attainments were common talk in every war-office of Europe except that of France

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herself, an officer whom Queen Victoria had delighted to honor by conferring upon him the Order of the Bath, who bore the insignia of the Medjidi, of Saint Maurice and St. Lazare, the military medals of Sardinia and England, who during the siege itself was made a Knight-Commander of the Legion of Honor. Just, nay, generous to a fault, the Emperor repaired his oversight in a little while by naming General Raoult chief of the staff of the Imperial Guards.

"Did the Emperor point out afterwards to his Minister for War that it is his most sacred duty to enlighten him on the merits of his officers? It is more than doubtful, for there is nothing Napoleon III. dislikes so much as being compelled to reprimand. He generally errs the other way. He endeavors as far as lies in his power, to remove ignorance and incompetence from their active spheres, but his method is, to say the least, curious. General Forey, who wasted many months in Mexico, and showed a lamentable want of decision and an utter absence of military skill before Puebla, had to be recalled. The merest sub-lieutenant could have pointed out the flagrant mistakes he had committed. The Emperor could think of no better way of removing him from his command than by making him a marshal. Here is an extract from the Emperor's letter dated exactly three years ago, which Forey has been showing everywhere. 'It has afforded me much happiness to hear of the entry of my troops into Mexico; and now I think that all serious resistance will be at an end. By the time my letter shall reach you, Mexico will have been in our power for three months, and the military expedition may be considered as terminated. Under those circumstances, I think it useless to prolong your stay in Mexico. A marshal of France is too big a personage to be allowed to worry about intrigues and administrative details. Hence you have my authority to delegate your powers to General Bazaine the moment you think fit, and to return to France to enjoy your success and the legitimate glory you have won.'

"Of course, the non-recall of Bazaine when he was raised to the dignity of marshal is explained by Forey's friends on the plausible theory that since then, affairs in Mexico have gone from bad to worse, but I and many like me who are neither Bazaine's friends nor Forey's enemies know the difference of calibre between these two.

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"And then that magnificent sentence, 'A marshal of France is too big a personage to be allowed to worry about intrigues and administrative details.' Ye shades of Davoust and Ney, who worried themselves, without being asked, about the soldiers' tin kettles and the washing of their feet. And Bismarck, as big a personage as any marshal of France, and who, Körner told me yesterday, worried himself in the thick of the campaign about his soldiers' cigars, and made his wife worry too, while he, Bismarck, was sleeping on the flagstones. The present marshals are too big for that sort of thing; they do not care a single jot about the soldier's camp kettle, or about his cleanliness. The general of division takes his cue from the marshal, the general of brigade takes his cue from the general of division, and so on, until in the end the barrack-room becomes an unspeakable thing, and the soldier, in spite of his outward smartness, a far from pleasant being to come into close contact with."

The above note or notes—for from internal evidence I came to the conclusion long ago that the whole was not written at one sitting—belongs to the collection from which I have so often drawn in these chapters.

The stupefaction produced on the Emperor by the unexpected revelation of Prussia's military supremacy over Austria—I could, if required, prove that it was altogether unexpected—was not of long duration. In October, 1866, he instituted a grand commission to examine the question of reorganizing the French army. Only those who lived in Paris in those days can conceive an idea of the formidable opposition, of the blind antagonism, the project met with from the very outset.

"Give a dog a bad name and it will stick to him." During the last few years I have been so persistently accused of systematic hostility against France both by the English and the French themselves that I have grown absolutely callous to the accusation. Nevertheless, I should be sorry to write one line of unfavorable comment on a matter of such importance as the patriotism of a nation on insufficient proof. The opposition to Napoleon III.'s scheme of army reform was, however, prompted by such mean and personal motives on the part of some deputies that silence on the subject would be more blameable to my mind than outspokenness.

The sayings and doings of the Peace Society generally inspire

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me with an irrepressible desire to throw politeness to the winds and to call its members names ; yet there is no one more alive to the hardships of conscription than I. If the opposition to Napoleon's contemplated army bill had sprung from a sincere wish to diminish those hardships no one would or could have withheld his sympathy, though even then the *Salus Patriæ suprema lex* would have acted as a damper to one's admiration. But neither the *conscrit* himself, nor his mother, sisters, and sweetheart, all of whom suffer most from his enforced absence in times of peace, from his non-return in times of war, occupied the thoughts of the deputy. The relatives for whose feelings the deputy showed the deepest concern were those who suffered least, namely, the father and uncle of the ploughboy or young workman. And for a very good reason : the father and uncle could mar or make the deputy at the next general election ; that is, could deprive him of his snug stipend of at least £500 per annum, or secure him the undisturbed possession of it for so many years. I will probably return to the subject in the next chapter ; for the present suffice it to say that this hostility of the majority even while the bill was only in incubation produced the most disastrous effect outside France in regard to her hitherto preponderant influence in European affairs. To restore that preponderance, a second *Coup d'Etat* was necessary in order to show the world at large that the Louis Napoleon of 1851 had not altogether ceased to be ; but the frequent want of decision that marked the latter years of the Emperor's reign, and had already produced two formidable errors as far as France's prestige was concerned, was fast developing into a chronic disease, which the approaching opening of that "damnable exhibition" was not calculated to remove, even temporarily.

For by that time "the invitations to the feast" were out, and had been eagerly accepted by the crowned heads of Europe. Joshua would have been equally glad to get such an invitation from the kings of the land of Canaan. Twelve years before that, Marshal Vaillant had expressed his opinion on the futility of trying to promote international friendships and conciliating rival sovereigns by such means. "When the other one [Napoleon I.] gave them entertainments and theatrical performances, it was on their ground and not in France ; they paid the expenses, and not he."

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Napoleon III., I fancy, knew the Parisians better in one respect than did either his uncle or any sovereign before him (the nephew). He had probably come to the conclusion that in default of incessant victories the Parisians' good will to their ruler was largely dependent on the latter's ability and efforts to provide them with magnificent public shows and court pageants. I doubt if Napoleon III., had he decided to be crowned or to crown himself, would have gone to Rheims like Charles X. and some of his forbears, or, like Napoleon I., hesitated between the capital and a provincial city as the scene for such coronation. Instead of taking the Comédie-Française to Erfurth to act before a *parterre* of kings, Napoleon III. invited the *parterre* of kings to the Rue Le Peletier, knowing that he would please his metropolitan subjects and still trusting that he might dazzle his royal and imperial visitors. The experiment of twelve years previously had been so eminently successful in that respect, and the exhibition of 1867 was to eclipse that of 1855 as well as the twelve others which had opened their portals during the nearly seven decades that had gone by since the "Temple of Industry" had been inaugurated on that same Champ de Mars.

And truly, results seemed to justify the Emperor's expectations. At no period of modern history had any capital of Europe offered its hospitality to so many exalted personages within so short a period. Three emperors (for the Sultan of Turkey is styled an Imperial ruler, I believe); seven reigning kings, three of whom were officially accompanied by their consorts; nine grand dukes; two archdukes; two dozen princes of the blood, among whom there were at least a half-dozen heirs apparent; princesses, grand-duchesses, dukes and duchesses by the score; all these were calculated to give Paris in particular, and France in general, an intoxicating idea of their Emperor's power. Did France dream at that moment that among those visitors some had come to spy the martial nakedness of the land, however carefully hidden behind a gorgeous array—an almost too georgeous array—of glinting cuirass and resplendent gold lace? Did one visitor in particular, as the French maintain till this day, have his cupidity aroused by the unmistakable evidences of material prosperity, in such curious contrast to the lack of power to guard that prosperity by force of arms? I cannot say. But here

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is a story for the authenticity of which I will vouch, although the source from which it is drawn is not the usual one.

The King of Prussia, accompanied by Bismarck, Moltke, and others, arrived in Paris on June 5, 1866. The Elysée being occupied by his nephew, the Czar of Russia, King Wilhelm took up his quarters at the Prussian Embassy in the Rue de Lille.

On June 8 the Municipality gave a ball at the Hôtel de Ville in honor of the Imperial and Royal visitors, who as a matter of course were received by M. Haussmann, the Prefect of the Seine. In shaking hands with Haussmann, King Wilhelm is reported to have said: "Monsieur le Préfet, I have not been in Paris since 1814. I find it very changed indeed." Next morning, Haussmann accompanied the King, Bismarck, and Moltke to the heights of Montmartre, where the whole of the city of Paris lies practically at one's feet. "That's where I was encamped in 1814, M. le Préfet," said the King, pointing in the direction of Romainville. "Yes, sire, but there's a fort there now," replied Haussmann.

This is the story in full. That those two sentences of the King would have been better left unsaid under the circumstances no one would care to deny; but to build upon them a theory of sudden, invincible cupidity or ambition which nothing would satisfy but the possession, if for ever so short a time, of the magnificent city that lay outspread at his feet, would be too extravagant. And yet, if such invincible cupidity or ambition had suddenly obtruded itself, where would have been the wonder? For years Napoleon III. had striven and plotted about that Rhine frontier, the inordinate desire for which on the part of the French had nearly led to a war twenty-seven years before Wilhelm of Prussia stood on the heights of Montmartre. Do the French imagine that Wilhelm's head was a sieve, that Jena, the humiliation of his father and mother by Napoleon I. had simply run through that head without leaving traces there? Do they imagine that Nicholas Becker wrote his *Hymne am Rhein* and Max Schneckenburger his *Wacht am Rhein* without provocation?

I myself am inclined to agree with the author who said, "The journey to France of Moltke and his royal master in 1867 was not a pleasure trip, but a downright military reconnaissance." This in itself would prove that the idea of a possible, nay, a probable war with France had suggested itself to the minds of

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the three men who were mainly responsible for the issue of the struggle. I am confirmed in my belief by a scene I witnessed some seventy-two hours before King Wilhelm, Moltke, Bismarck, and Haussmann stood on the heights of Montmartre. It was at the review held in honor of the sovereigns at Longchamps on the 6th June. Thanks to my uncle's numerous friends in the army, we had two tickets; one had been given us by General Fleury, the other by the Emperor himself. We were placed on the enclosure right in front of the imperial stand, where the Empress, with her son by her side and surrounded by a brilliant suite, was seated. At two o'clock the Emperor, the Czar, and the King of Prussia, followed by their respective staffs, appeared on the ground. It would want a great word-painter to describe the spectacle, and I shall not attempt it. The Austrian and English officers in their white and scarlet uniforms closed the procession, and then about a score of yards behind them came a solitary figure, also in white and on horseback. He was riding very slowly, much slower than the rest, and seemed to scan every regiment as he passed it, as if to impress deeply on his memory its number, its numerical strength, its probable potentiality. "That's not an Austrian," said my uncle, who in spite of his strong field-glass was not able to distinguish very clearly. "I wonder who it is?" He had to repeat the latter part of his sentence, for I, too, was watching the figure closely. It was the second time I had seen it within a twelvemonth. The first time was on the evening of Friday, the 29th June, 1866, at a window in the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin. At the very moment it appeared at that window, a clap of thunder rent the air and a flash of lightning made the sky lurid. "This is heaven's salvo in honor of our victory, boys," it exclaimed, its voice being distinctly heard above the roar of the crowd.

"I wonder who it is?" repeated my uncle, nudging me in the side with his elbow. "That," I answered; "that's Bismarck."

"[illegible]'" remarked my uncle, lowering his glass for a second. He did not say another word for at least an hour, but I noticed that he kept watching the white figure.

"I wonder," he said very slowly on our way home, "whether the sixty thousand troops assembled to-day have hidden the nakedness behind them. Fleury averred that it only wanted half that

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number. I wonder whether that white figure is to be hoodwinked in that way."

He scarcely spoke for the remainder of the day, but seemed lost in deep thought. The reader may remember that on his return from that review, Alexander II. was fired at by Berezowski, in the Bois de Boulogne. The bullet only struck the mouth of the horse of M. Raimbaux, the Empress's equerry, who was riding by the side of the Imperial carriage. The jury of the Seine made the would-be assassin a present of his life. It has been stated, not once, but a hundred times, in print that this act of clemency, perhaps, deprived France of Russia's alliance in 1870.

To those who knew Alexander II. best, the statement constitutes not only an insult to his memory, but is ridiculous besides. It marks the same train of thought that credited Wilhelm of Prussia with nothing but cupidity at the sight of Paris in all her glory.

But on that June 6th, and for two months afterwards, such thoughts found no crevice in the minds of the majority of Frenchmen. The intoxicating idea of their power as attested by the presence of all those exalted guests left no room for any other. I said the majority. My uncles were not French, and if they had been they would not have belonged to the majority.

On the evening of that day, when the papers came out with their glowing accounts, my younger grand-uncle, who, as I said, had scarcely opened his lips since our return home, quietly got up and walked to a bookcase, from which he took a Shakespeare. He slowly turned the leaves until he came to *Macbeth*. "That's the future quotation for the King of Prussia, Bismarck, and Moltke," he said. Then in an impressive voice he read the first line of the second scene of Act II.—"That which hath made them drunk hath made me bold."

He spoke no more that evening until he bade us "good night."

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(*To be continued.*)

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OUR DUTY IN THE VENEZUELAN CRISIS.

BY REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH WHEELER, OF ALABAMA, AND REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES H. GROSVENOR, OF OHIO.

I.

THE expressions which have passed into history as the Monroe Doctrine were contained in the message which was delivered by President Monroe to the Eighteenth Congress, December 2, 1823. We were then a weak republic of about ten and one-half million people and at that time the nations of Europe were enjoying profound peace.

More than eight years had elapsed since the close of the terrific wars which had shaken that continent during the quarter of a century which preceded the battle of Waterloo. The European powers had reorganized and improved their military and naval establishments, strengthened their financial conditions, and were better prepared for war than at any former period. Great Britain, France, Spain, Denmark, and Holland were governments which took special pride and interest in extending and building up their American colonies. In addition to this the strongest nations of Europe had agreed to "lend one another on every occasion and in every place assistance, aid and support," and it was soon apparent that these nations intended the subjugation of the Spanish colonies in America.

It was in the face of this menacing attitude of powerful European nations that President Monroe announced "that the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

He further declared: "That we should consider any attempt on

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their part to extend their system to any portion of this Hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

If under such conditions this doctrine could be maintained by a comparatively weak power of ten million people, should it not be enforced in the strictest sense by the same nation which now contains a population of seventy millions, and has become the richest and most powerful sovereignty on earth. The American people have always abstained from any interference in the internal concerns of any European powers, but I believe they are practically unanimous that a nation like ours should maintain such a policy upon this hemisphere as is dictated by our best interests. To do less, would be at the sacrifice of our dignity and the loss of the respect of the nations of the earth.

Through her aggressive colonial policy England already possesses dependencies on this hemisphere which comprise territory containing 3,541,505 square miles, about equal to the entire area of the United States, and including numerous islands, some of which are within a few hours' sail of our shores. We have always carefully abstained from any interference with these possessions of Great Britain, but to allow that nation to extend her territory on this hemisphere, either by treaty, or purchase, or conquest, or by the insidious encroachments which have characterized her dealings with Venezuela, the people of the United States should resist with all the power they possess. England fully understands that the principles announced by Mr. Monroe have become a settled policy of the United States, and as such must be considered and accepted as principles of international law.

Venezuela, originally a dependency of Spain, was acquired by that nation by the right of discovery about the year 1499. A year later the Spanish explored the Delta of the Orinoco, and in 1531 extended their explorations up that river to the mouth of the Meta. This, by virtue of the rule laid down at that time and always acquiesced in by European nations, gave Spain an unquestioned title to this territory.

Many years later the Dutch established a settlement east of the Essequibo river, near the site of the present city of Georgetown. By the treaty of Munster in 1648 it was stipulated that Spain and Holland were to remain in possession of the territory then "in actual possession of each," and sixty-five years later Great Britain agreed to aid the Spaniards to recover their ancient

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dominions in America, the treaty stating these to be the same as in the time of Charles II.

By the treaty of recognition by Spain the provinces were ceded by name to the new republic.

England's title to Dutch Guiana was derived in 1814 from the United Netherlands, the treaty simply designating them as the colonies of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, but in none of the treaties are the geographical boundaries designated. It is therefore clear that the dividing line must be that which was recognized as the boundary between the Spanish and Dutch settlements at the time they existed as such. This is all Venezuela has ever demanded, and for England to contend for more than this would be an attempt to violate the Monroe doctrine by the extension of European colonies in America.

Our government should, therefore, by a frank and manly communication, demand that England agree that arbitrators shall determine, by such evidence as can be produced, the boundary lines between the Spanish and Dutch colonies prior to the cession of 1814, by which England first acquired title.

If this request is not acceded to, it will show conclusively that England has decided to dispute the right of the United States to maintain the doctrine laid down by President Monroe in 1823. It will also prove that Great Britain has determined by force to extend her colonies in America, and we cannot be too prompt in meeting and resenting any such purpose. More than fifty years ago, Venezuela entered a most earnest remonstrance against encroachments then being made by England, and from that date that republic has been pleading for some conventional agreement, some plan of arbitration or some method of compromise. She has been answered by evasions and delays, during which England has gradually but steadily enlarged her pretensions, until now that nation claims the entire Orinoco Delta and twenty-nine miles of territory to the west of that river. To understand the importance of this claim, we must consider that the Orinoco floats the largest ships for four hundred miles, and many of its hundred tributaries are navigable far into the interior, so that the control of the mouth of the Orinoco carries with it almost a monopoly of the trade and commerce of nearly a third of the South American continent. Upon a question somewhat similar to the one now presented, President Polk recom-

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mended the occupation of territory in Yucatan, declaring that "we would not consent to a transfer of this domain and sovereignty to either Spain, Great Britain, or any other European power."

Our population at that time was about 20,000,000, and certainly a policy we then boldly asserted can now be firmly maintained. So far from receding from the strictest construction of the doctrine laid down by Monroe, my views are that the United States should extend its policy and look to the establishment of depots and naval stations around which American colonies would locate, sufficiently strong to encourage and protect our trade and commerce. England's success in extending her trade and commerce is largely due to her first establishing colonies or footholds in countries the trade of which she sought to secure. American toil now produces substantially 30 per cent. of the staple products of the world; we have but four per cent. of its population, and foreign trade has become an essential outlet for American products. The principle of the Monroe doctrine did very well in 1823.

President Polk advanced a step in 1848. We must take another step forward in 1895. I would deplore any action which would endanger our amicable relations with England, but we must realize that they are largely due to our allowing that nation a practical monopoly of the most valuable trade and commerce of the world, and Americans must understand that friction will certainly follow any material invasion of English markets by American products.

JOSEPH WHEELER.

II.

THE United States should plant itself immovably upon a just and intelligent definition of the Monroe doctrine in defining its attitude toward the Venezuelan situation. The position taken by our government at the time of the occupation of a part of Mexico by Maximilian, acting as the agent of the French Government, re-affirmed the Monroe doctrine in unmistakable terms, and our position was accepted as the true one by the nations of the world. But recently the course of our government has, upon several occasions, cast doubt and uncertainty over our probable

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future attitude, and the time has now come when the United States should make clear and unmistakable the purpose to maintain the position taken in the Mexican case; or we should cease to discuss the subject and abandon the Monroe doctrine permanently, and give public notice thereof. To temporize is cowardice, to equivocate dishonor.

That England has violated the Monroe doctrine, or in other words, that England has done acts which challenged the opposition of the United States, is plain and undeniable. It may be said that she did not seize any territory at the time of her controversy with Nicaragua; that is, she did not attempt to acquire and annex Nicaraguan territory. But it is true that she committed acts of oppression, based upon a technical claim, and punished an inferior American Republic with brutality. The United States should have protested then and have demanded explanation and satisfaction. That we did not, has encouraged the subsequent aggressions in Venezuela.

The original declaration of the Monroe doctrine, as made on behalf of our government, contained this important statement: "But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." The levying of an unjust assessment is in the nature of blackmail upon a helpless State. The seizure of her ports by an armed force was an invasion of the principle of the Monroe doctrine, and it was weak and cowardly on the part of our government to submit to it without protest. The action of the United States amounted to a waiver of our position hitherto, and it may be well urged by Great Britain as amounting almost to an estoppel if we reassert the doctrine.

The proposition of England, as recently announced by Sir Julian Pauncefote that England will arbitrate the question of her right to territory which she admits she holds by doubtful tenure, but will refuse to arbitrate questions in regard to territory which she is pleased to say she holds by indisputable title, is a simple repudiation of all recognition of arbitration what-

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ever, and it indicates the hypocrisy of the movement by which a member of the British Parliament paraded himself across the ocean and came to Congress in the last session with his arms full of petitions in favor of an international system of arbitration. We have lost standing among the nations of the earth by the course we have already taken, and in the failures already manifested, and we had infinitely better surrender all pretence of adherence to the Monroe doctrine and abandon the American Continent to the ravages of European aggression than to any longer pretend to uphold it and yet be guilty of the failures of the past two years.

Our attitude should be that of unflinching and unfaltering devotion to the principles and practices of this government hitherto, and in so doing we shall not bring war upon the United States; but we shall protect ourselves against war by securing respectful recognition of our national purpose by all the nations of the world.

At this time England seems to have special interest in South American affairs. Her efforts to secure trade belonging legitimately to her commercial rivals, have been supplemented by an interference in the Mosquito country which clearly manifests a disposition to control, if possible, the ownership of the great trans-Isthmus Canal. England should not be permitted to succeed in this scheme. The building and control of that gigantic artery of international commerce should be the dearest object of American statesmanship.

The attitude of the United States towards the Venezuelan question should be that of determined opposition to any movement of England, the result of which would impair or weaken our ancient declaration of support of the Monroe doctrine. Our construction of the scope of that doctrine should be proclaimed and adhered to. Once proclaimed, a faithful adherence to and recognition of our construction by the nations of the earth should be the conditions upon which alone friendly relations with us can be maintained.

CHARLES H. GROSVENOR.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A PRACTICAL USE OF VERSE.

THE impracticability of using telegraph lines for communication between Army Posts in a rugged country which was the seat of continual warfare between the United States troops and so cunning and daring a foe as hostile Indians, must be apparent to any layman; and taking a lesson from the enemy, who for ages had been skilful in long distance signalling through a line of stations, the government decided upon the experiment of sending messages by means of heliography, or the transmission of letters forming words by means of the flashes of light from mirrors.

Colonel Wm J. Volkmar, Assistant Adjutant-General and Chief Signal Officer of the Department of Arizona, was put in charge of this work and had occasion to congratulate himself upon the hearty support of the Chief Signal Officer of the Army, Brigadier General H. W. Greely, and the cheerful co-operation of the regimental officers.

On November 1, 1889, instructions were given to the officers commanding the various posts on the proposed line from Whipple Barracks, Ariz., to Fort Stanton, N. Mex., together with all branch stations, to prepare for the work. The result was that early in May, 1890, signals had been flashed and successfully read between all contiguous stations.

The total distance covered was 2,544 miles, and was taken from a table showing the stations occupied, their connections and minimum flash distances as estimated by horizontal projections measured by scale upon the map.

About 2,000 miles were operated connectedly during the two weeks' practice immediately following the completion of the lines.

During this practice all former records of communicating between two points by flash signal were broken.

On May 13 signals were successfully interchanged between Mts. Reno and Graham, Arizona, a distance of 125 miles. Lieutenant Wittenmeyer, Ninth Infantry, was in command of the former, and Lieutenant Dade, assisted by Lieutenant Peterson, both of Tenth Infantry, of the latter station. All were under the immediate direction of Captain Murray, Fourth Cavalry.

In referring to the remarkable and satisfactory results following the order of November 1, 1889, Colonel Volkmar says in his report of May 31, 1890: "To all the officers and operators praise is due for patient, untiring work in face of difficulties involving privations and hardship. The burning heat of the deserts, the cold and snow of lofty mountain tops, the painful daily climbing and descent of rugged peaks by stony trails taxing physical powers to the utmost, were all borne without complaint.

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"Filled with zeal, each enthusiastic in performing his own part in what the Chief Signal Officer of the Army unreservedly styled 'the most comprehensive and best planned scheme of the kind ever devised,' the enterprise, skill, and daring of American Signal Officers, shown by this work, will command the admiration of soldiers everywhere."

General Greely, lately returned from his terrible experience in the Arctic region, manifested his deep interest in this enterprise by joining Colonel Volkmar at the seat of operations, Fort Bayard, N. M., and on May 10th a "through" test message was sent to Whipple Barracks, Ariz.; Fort Stanton, N. M.; and all intermediate and branch stations.

In preparing this message Volkmar was determined that the test should be a trying one—that words should not suggest their followers—and to this end concluded to send the message in verse.

Some lines occurred to him that he had read years before in the album of a lady visiting one of the official family of Gen. W. T. Sherman, and as the number of words was about the number desired, and a compliment to the Chief Signal Officer of the Army was happily implied, he called upon his memory and gave the message to the transmitter.

It consisted of 159 words, body of message, and 27 words address and signature, total 186 words. The report says:

"It was transmitted creditably, and at Whipple Barracks the copy received through seven repeating stations contained few, if any, more 'bulls' than would be found ordinarily in any message of such length and peculiar description transmitted by the public telegraph lines."

The verses are given here to show how carefully the message had to be transmitted and received in order to give such excellent results. They were written by Lieut. Thos. H. Stevens, of the United States Navy.

"The World's a mighty book upon whose pages
Each man is sternly bid to place his name,
And there, recorded through enduring ages,
We mark the loved and honored ones of fame.
Some touch with trembling hand the stylus fateful,
Some write invisibly in tears the word,
While those there be with spirits dark and hateful
Write small their names among the coward herd.
But, with a mighty purpose filled, the Chosen
Spurn idle pleasures back to idle hands,
And, striding swift through torrid zones or frozen,
Stamp high their names on peaks of distant lands.
And others come, godlike in conscious power,
Who with far-reaching eye see bright reward,
And eager rush to meet the slow-paced hour
In which to carve their names with naked sword.
And here, perchance, within this flexile cover
Where men have writ in ink, then passed away,
Time may recall as friend or reverent lover
Great names illumed by Glory's fadeless ray."

ROWAN STEVENS.

REGULATION OF THE LIQUOR BUSINESS.

THE sale of liquor at retail is a subject that has been probably the cause of more legislation in the various states of the Union than any other. In some of them it is entirely prohibited by law under severe penalties, in most of them it is permitted under restrictions. As yet, no effort apparently has been made looking to any uniformity of the restrictions imposed, each State providing its own laws regardless of those of the others.

That the sale of liquor is virtually a necessity is shown by the fact that, no matter how stringent the laws may be, it has been impossible totally to

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stop it in any of the States, the United States internal revenue returns showing the payment of licenses in States where the sale of liquor is absolutely forbidden by the State laws. It seems proper then, as the sale of liquor cannot be wholly suppressed, that the effort should be to regulate business in such manner that it will be satisfactory to the community wherein it is allowed.

The principal points about which the greatest difference of opinion appears to be are the amount of the license fee and the regulations regarding the same. The amount charged for a license, to be fair, should be so regulated that the charge would not be oppressive or exorbitant. It is well known that the profits of the liquor business depend largely on the locality wherein it is carried on; the license fee, therefore, should be somewhat in proportion. As to the regulations, under our present system of society, it is apparent that what would be proper in one locality might be considered unreasonable or tyrannical in another; in certain localities of some of our large cities it might be necessary to allow a privilege for selling all night; in some other localities it might be proper to allow a privilege, under certain requirements, for selling on Sunday, but in such cases it is only reasonable that the privilege extended should be paid for in accordance with the value thereof.

That the above propositions are not unreasonable and would meet with the approval of a large majority of the people seems evident, especially if they were embraced in a law which could be general and apply with equal force to villages, towns and cities.

Have a law passed making the license fee for selling liquor a moderate amount—for instance, $25 a year; let the law provide for a properly constituted authority for each village, town or city, such constituted authority to be a part of the governing power of each village, town or city, and to be styled a Board of Excise. The Board of Excise of each village, town or city should have the right to fix the number of licenses to be issued, and to establish the regulations regarding the sale of liquor in their several localities. The Board of Excise of each village, town or city should once a year district their several localities, and fix the number of licenses to be issued in each of the several districts, the number not to be increased during the ensuing year. At the same time the Board of Excise should establish such regulations as to the sale of liquor in the several districts of their respective localities as they may deem just and proper. There should be some provision in the law whereby the residents of the several districts might be entitled to a hearing before the number of licenses and the regulations pertaining thereto, for the several districts, were fixed. Immediately after settling the number of licenses and the regulations regarding the same, the Board of Excise should advertise for proposals for the privilege of securing a license, the license fee in all cases to be the same. Parties offering proposals should designate the location proposed in any district and the amount of bonus offered, which bonus must be paid on the procuring of the license, and the amount paid both for the license and the bonus should be turned into the treasury of the several villages, towns or cities.

Any party violating the regulations as formulated for the privilege which he may have procured, shall forfeit the license and cease to have any privilege for the sale of liquor, and no re-issue of any forfeited license shall be made until the beginning of the next year. The law should provide penalties for selling liquor without any license therefor.

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In putting such a law into operation, it would be only just that for the first year as many licenses should be allowed as were in force in any district at that time, but the regulations should be made plain, and the law should provide for their strict enforcement, and in case of any violation the forfeiture of the license should be imperative. It is more than probable that at the expiration of the first year, there would be a large reduction in the number of licenses to be issued, for the simple reason that the strict enforcement of the regulations would in many cases remove the glamour that apparently surrounds the business of selling liquor in the estimation of so many of the community, and the business would have to be conducted in a more conservative manner than at present, and would tend to make the parties engaged in it better members of society.

The people of this country are naturally in favor of good order and willingly obey laws that are fair in their nature, and as the above ideas embrace the principles of Home Rule and high license, it might be possible to frame a law based on them that would be satisfactory to the general community.

FRANCIS GOTTSBERGER.

THE RULE OF THE MOTHER.

THE record of primitive man, whose evil propensities still survive in the brutal and lawless elements of society, shows how humble have been our social beginnings and how slowly the more delicate and beautiful relations of family life have been evolved. It would be ungracious, however, from our comparative elevation, to look down with contempt upon the representatives of our more lowly estate, for the gorilla who is depicted as patiently sitting, armed with a club, at the foot of the tree in which mother gorilla nurses her young, was perhaps the first in the series leading to man who held himself responsible for the safety of the family, and who inspired respect for parental authority.

There was a time when what seems to us the most definite of all human ties was the most shifting and imperfectly defined. In the first instance it was believed among primitive men that the child belonged to the tribe in general, secondly, to the mother only; thirdly, to its father and not to its mother; and finally, that it was related to both. This last recognized truth is the basis of the family in modern society, but so far as the spiritual life of the child is concerned the man holds himself far less responsible than the woman for its maintenance, or for the higher ideals connected with the home.

There are many reasons why this should be so. The natural forces at play in the organic world early conspired to subject women, by means of her sympathy for the child, to the reign of love and to the practice of the domestic virtues. On the other hand, the burden was thrown upon society, or perhaps more especially upon woman herself, of winning man by indirect means to this same theory of existence. It has been suggested that nature could not afford to leave the development of motherhood to chance. In the case of the father, however, her methods have been less insistent, and his evolution, in the highest sense of the word, has been a difficult and somewhat retarded task.

In addition to nature's carelessness, society also has neglected its opportunities for cultivating the theory of paternal responsibility. The Greeks

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and Romans, by whose ideas modern society has been so largely dominated, taught that a man's duty to the state was the first and most urgent claim. Cicero said that the love owed by a citizen to his country was holier and more profound than that due by him to his nearest kinsman. The Roman father, it is true, maintained absolute control in the family, holding even the power of life and death over his children, as seen in the condemnation of his sons to death by Brutus, who sentenced them without judicial forms, and not as a consul, but as a father.

In modern times the patriotic sentiment has become largely qualified by other considerations. It is now believed that the state is of importance in proportion to its power to guarantee the security and promote the well-being of the family. This belief, however, has been only slowly attained, as well as many others essential to ethical progress. Even Plato struck at the root of paternal obligation in making the woman the property of the community rather than the faithful wife of one man. Furthermore, in the life of the Greeks, outside of the theoretic republic, we find that the legal guardian of the hearth was not well fitted to win a man to the higher motives of family life. Grote tells us that "owing to the almost Oriental seclusion, Greek wives, as a rule, were uncultivated, limited, dependent, and without charm." On the other hand, the freedom permitted the courtesan class was favorable to mental development as well as to the cultivation of social attractions; therefore these women became the companions the most sought after by men, and the ones who lent charm to life.

The modern ideal is to combine the integrity of the Greek wife with the varied attractions of the less restricted class. There can be no doubt that under these conditions there is a better outlook than ever before for the intelligent direction of the life of the child. There is, however, the risk that the new intellectual movement may cause women to forget that progress has not been due to the intellect alone. The emotions have played even a more important part than the intelligence in lifting mankind from the pit of animalism; and love and persuasion, rather than logic, must still be the principal agents in winning man from the "gladiatorial theory" of life, from his aberrant and centrifugal tendencies, to greater helpfulness in promoting the ideals of the home.

In America the tendency is to hold the mother responsible for the spiritual tone of the household. This unformulated theory has been pushed to so great an extreme that at length society is threatened with what has been designated a *matriarchate* or a return to that primitive state when the child was supposed to belong to the mother alone. Every teacher can bear testimony to the fact that the direction and oversight of the child's education are largely under the control of the mother. Even after the youth has entered college it is she who keeps in touch with his success or failure. Admirable as this interest may be, wife and child nevertheless suffer from the want of closer sympathy on the father's part in all that relates to the things of the spirit. Besides, however praiseworthy their intentions may be, mothers are not always the most judicious advisers. The father in many instances is an infinitely better guide; at any rate, his broad contacts with life and his natural force of character make him an ally that cannot safely be dispensed with.

All through the ages man has endeavored to dominate and impress his personality upon the world at large, until this form of activity has rendered irksome any more limited field of exertion. He has believed himself

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compelled to sing to the wide world so persistently and copiously, in such resonant praise-eliciting accents, that he has become fascinated, not only with the public deed, but with the oratorical utterances he finds so pleasing to the collective ear. As a result of these outside allurements it is difficult for him to subdue his voice to individual and immediate teaching. Furthermore, it is hard to persuade the politician and the philanthropist that the reforms needed in the state are first needed in the home, and that solicitude about other people's progress might in a measure be spared if men were primarily solicitous about those immediately dependent upon them.

The transference of paternal responsibility to institutions, and more especially to the mother, shows that there is a widespread conviction on the part of fathers that, however it may be with other people's children, his own, at least, live by bread alone. Acting upon this belief he is generous beyond compare in supplying his family with physical luxuries. He is, however, far less lavish with his time and companionship. Indeed, he refuses to be bothered about such petty details as the formation of character, the discipline of the child, and the general conduct of the home. Even in the pursuit of his pleasures he often sets an example of independence which serves to strengthen in the average American household the proclivity shown by its members to fly off in a tangent. Like billiard balls they carrom against each other, are *pocketed* in the home for a season, and then start off on independent careers. As a disintegrating force a certain amount of quarreling is insignificant compared with this cultivated indifference and the state of mind which finds expression in the "do as you like" theory of family life.

The decline of paternal authority is widespread, but nowhere has there been so great an abandonment of control as in America. In compensation there is, however, a growing belief that "*Le pouvoir paternal est plutôt un devoir qu'un pouvoir.*" In recognition of this principle the cost and care of bringing up a child properly have become so great that there is an increasing sentiment in favor of small families, not only on the part of those who pride themselves upon their enlightened selfishness, but among conscientious people who realize the difficulties of bringing up a child in the way he should go. Save in agricultural communities, children seldom render any efficient service to their parents, and a young person adequately *fitted for a profession, in most cases, has cost his parents and institutions* of learning, not less than fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. This excessive tax upon the head of a household and upon the state suggests the possibility of mistaken zeal in inducing young people to abandon the field of manual labor.

The commercial theory of the division of labor is doubtless responsible for the withdrawal of the father from the concerns of the house; but this practice in the home as well as in the manufactory has been pushed to an extreme. It is an evil day in any civilization when other interests and duties are postponed to the making of money, and when wealth becomes the chief standard of success. Absorbed in the world of action, stimulated by its gains, and desirous of appearing successful in the eyes of his associates, it is easier for a man to pay bills and ask no questions, to give money rather than time or thought to the ways of the household.

Although there is much room for the improvement of the mother, she is, in a measure, constrained to the fulfilment of her duties. The means for evolving the perfected father are, however, more uncertain owing to the

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existing impediments to the operation of *selection*. The greater number of eligible wifes among well-to-do people as compared with desirable husbands, so far reduces the range of choice that there is no guarantee that the noblest, strongest, or handsomest men will marry refined women. The difficulty here arises in part from the fact that men of this class, if poor, are apt to go into remote and uncultivated regions, and become the husbands of inferior women, while the rich often satisfy the claims of affection without incurring the obligations of the marriage tie. Thus the absence of healthy competition diminishes the chance of developing the best husbands and fathers.

Since the influence of woman for good does not appear to be in proportion to her numbers it is to be regretted that the birth rate does not show a greater proportion of males than is actually the case. The Jews, with whom there is a larger preponderance of males than any other race, are, according to Lecky, remarkable for their domestic virtues, and especially for the care of their children.

C. P. SELDEN.

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